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THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY OF FRANCISCO MORAZÁN AND THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN LIBERALS

The daring slogan of Voltaire, "*Écrasez l'infâme*," raised against the parasitic, privileged orthodoxy of his age, well illustrates the truism that uttered words are like a pebble thrown into a pond in that they set in motion an endless succession of thought ripples which may ultimately touch the outermost margin of human life; for, though many of the Central American reformers were doubtless unconscious of the fact, the teachings of the French philosopher were at the foundation of the ecclesiastical policy of Francisco Morazán and the political group of which, for ten years, he was leader. This influence becomes very obvious after a brief study of the relation between state and church on the Isthmus from the inception of the idea of political independence to the time when Morazán grasped the reins of political control.

Spanish intellectuals were stimulated by the writings of Voltaire and other French radicals long before the soldiers of Napoleon Bonaparte entered the Iberian Peninsula, but the first important fruits of this influence did not appear until after the meeting of the Cortes of Cadiz, which had organized to defy the Bonapartes and to destroy their dominion to the south of the Pyrenees. The Cortes, made up primarily of radicals, imitating the French National Assembly, quickly enacted a body of startlingly democratic laws, which not only struck a blow at the

nobility but also stripped the Spanish clergy of a large portion of their special privileges and time-honored prerogatives.

This latter fact caused a profound change among the churchmen of the Captaincy-General of Guatemala. A few years before, the church had been the most dependable as well as the most powerful part of the Spanish machinery for the administration of the Indies; the clergy, always loyal themselves, could be counted upon to inculcate in the minds of their spiritual charges the duty of faithfulness and of submission to the Catholic sovereigns. Now, many of the Isthmian clergy, fearful lest they, in turn, be shorn of their ancient power and rich endowments, if they remained linked politically with Spain, joined the other revolutionists in the hope of becoming the dominant element in an oligarchy to be established under an independent flag.¹ It is true, the restoration of the degenerate and craven House of Bourbon to the Spanish throne, followed by the reactionary measures of Ferdinand VII., was reflected in Guatemala by a slight counter-revolutionary movement—especially among the higher clergy and the friars;² but this shifting was not of sufficient importance to delay for long the winning of independence.

Scarcely was freedom from the motherland a reality, however, before it was evident that special privilege in Central America was again jeopardized by the French revolutionary philosophy, which had trickled into the Indies in spite of the strict censorship of Spain; for the Liberals, made up largely of middle-class creoles, showed unexpected numbers and aggressiveness. These men, many of whom had read Voltaire and other kindred writers with avidity, had led in the movement for independence, and now gave promise of ruining the plans of the Conservatives—or Serviles, as they are most commonly called—with whom the clergy had allied themselves, by the establishment of a government upon a democratic basis. Largely in the hope of yet gaining their ends, the would-be oligarchs eagerly welcomed a union with Mexico

¹ E. G. Squier, *Nicaragua*, II. 373-374, 378; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 12, 18, 34, 38, 43.

² Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 38, 40.

under Iturbide, whom the clerical wing of the group seemed especially to hail as a savior from the perils that faced them. But before the varied political units which had composed the old Captaincy-General of Guatemala could—by voluntary submission or by military coercion—be brought under the Mexican flag, Iturbide's wobbly throne collapsed and his dream of empire was no more.³

The people of the Isthmus, again free to follow their own political inclinations, through a national constituent assembly soon proclaimed themselves an independent nation under the name the United Provinces of Central America. Liberal ideas prevailed in the Assembly, and the hope for a centralized oligarchical government which would make impregnable the position of special privilege was once more defeated. The constitution, proclaimed in 1824, provided for a federal republic; and the large number of legislative decrees promptly passed by the Liberals displayed a grim determination to exalt the lowly and to abase those who sat in the seats of the mighty. Human slavery was abolished, and likewise the recently self-created nobility; even titles of special respect, such as "Don", were outlawed; monopolies and other economic discriminations were swept aside; a modern system of justice was introduced; freedom of the press was proclaimed; and plans were laid for the introduction of free public schools on the model of those at the time being tried out in the United States.⁴

The Liberals, however, in their zeal for reform and progress, forgot that the Central Americans, largely of aboriginal descent, must learn to creep before they could walk. Some of the above-mentioned legislation and much of that subsequently enacted was of too radical a character for the masses of the nation, who inclined to oppose it because it was new and incomprehensible. Opposition to this leveling legislation on the part of the lay-aristocrats was a foregone conclusion; and the clergy also set

³ Squier, *Nicaragua*, II. 379-384; Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 38, 55, 56, 66.

⁴ Alejandro Marure, *Bosquejo Histórico de las Revoluciones de Centro-América, desde 1811 hasta 1834*, I. 244-246; Squier, *Nicaragua*, II. 384-385; Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 628.

themselves against the democratic laws as a whole, partly because of the natural conservatism of the Church, partly because of previous fractional alignment with the aristocratic Serviles; and they displayed a special antipathy towards the plans for general intellectual enlightenment,⁵ since the most loyal followers of the clergy were the densely ignorant aborigines and mestizos. Education under public supervision was certain to decimate the numbers of these faithful. Such considerations led the Church to ally itself more firmly than before with the other conservatives in the population, and to display an increased unfriendliness towards the party in power.

This inimical attitude towards the Liberals was many times multiplied in consequence of decrees aimed directly at the Church. For, though the constitution made Roman Catholicism the state religion, to the exclusion of public observance of any other, it was evident at the outset that the ecclesiastical was to be made subordinate to the civil, and that the clergy must part with many—if not all—of their ancient prerogatives. Even before the Federal constitution was completed, the undermining process was inaugurated, by decrees of the Constituent Assembly, later followed up by enactments of the regular government. Certain of the early edicts much reduced the foreign support of the Church: the Inquisition, which had ceased to function with the collapse of the Spanish colonial machinery, was abolished; no papal bull might be promulgated without previous approval by the central government; and no local heads of religious orders were permitted to recognize obedience to, or hold relations with, their superiors in Spain. The stream of clerical recruits was greatly attenuated by a decree forbidding admission of persons under twenty-three years of age to monasteries and nunneries, and those under twenty-five, to profession; and the Church was enfeebled on its administrative side through a requirement that the archbishop make no appointment of parish priests without first securing governmental sanction of his choice. Other legislation of an economic nature was equally disastrous: the privilege, long enjoyed by the clergy, of having goods im-

⁵ Henry Dunn, *Guatemala*, pp. 104, 136.

ported free of duty was canceled; the amount of tithes which they might collect was reduced by fifty per cent; and a comprehensive inheritance law gave the children of priests and nuns the right to inherit like the off-spring of laymen—thus creating a continuous leakage of wealth from the ecclesiastical organization.⁶

The apparent result of all of this legislation was the curtailment of ecclesiastical power, but the immediate reasons for the different enactments varied. Some laws were intended to protect the state from clergy—including Archbishop Ramón Casaus and certain members of the monastic orders—who were under suspicion because they had opposed independence from Spain, and had, in some cases, to be coerced into taking the oath of allegiance to the Federal constitution; others aimed to help recoup the public treasury, and at the same time sweep away aristocratic privilege; while still other legislation—especially that of later date—was enacted for the punishment of opposition to earlier acts and of intrigues against the government. These punitive measures, in particular, resulted in increased hostility on the part of the Church, which displayed itself in greater opposition and more comprehensive intrigue; and this, in turn, produced more severe legislation. Thus was created a “vicious circle”, which, as time passed, increased in power and in dangerous possibilities for the Central American Confederation.

In this connection there should be mentioned one further influence affecting the relations of the governing faction and the Church. Though there were certain very laudable exceptions, both in character and in general ecclesiastical practices, the clergy of Central America left much to be desired; neither by precept nor by example did they teach pure religion and undefiled.⁷ This fact gave an excellent handle to the Liberals, who—some moved merely by atheistic impatience,⁸ and others, by the

⁶ Marure, *Bosquejo Histórico*, I. 244-246; Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, pp. 297-298.

⁷ See the following: Dunn, *Guatemala*; Robert Glasgow Dunlop, *Travels in Central America*; Frederick Crowe, *The Gospel in Central America*; Squier, *Nicaragua*.

⁸ Dunn, *Guatemala*, p. 92; Crowe, *Gospel in Central America*, pp. 123, 256-257.

conviction that the power of the Church was a menace to republican government—proceeded to expose the moral weaknesses of the priests and friars and to poke fun at the practices by which they fooled the superstitious, and aimed to dominate the minds of all. Stories and anecdotes with this in view were freely circulated by word of mouth;⁹ but the public press and the theatre were also used¹⁰—the latter especially to eliminate the desire expressed by some for the restoration of the Inquisition.¹¹

Though these methods detached some of the more intelligent supporters of the Church, and even spread infidelity among the clergy, their chief effect was to widen the fast growing chasm between the Church and the Liberals and to increase to an intense degree the hatred felt for their enemies by the clergy and their remaining faithful.

The character and the disparity of interests and aims shown by the Federal executive and the provincial officials of Guatemala greatly aggravated the situation and encouraged clerico-aristocratic intrigue. Juan Barrundia and Cirilo Flores, jefe and vice-jefe of Guatemala province, were extreme radicals, and, as such, were relentless towards the Church.¹² The first Federal president was Manuel José Arce, who, in an election of rather dubious legality, had triumphed over his rival, José del Valle.¹³ Arce, who appears to have been a man of little character and no great ability, was nominally a Liberal and primarily a selfish politician. In this effort to make his position secure, he tried to please both political factions; and, thus, he offended his original supporters. The Conservatives, aided and encouraged by the clergy, did their utmost to add to the discord

⁹ Dunlop, *Central America*, p. 342; Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 628.

¹⁰ Dunn, *Guatemala*, p. 119; Lea, *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, pp. 298-299; Squier, *Nicaragua*, I. 372.

¹¹ "A play called 'La Inquisition por dentro,' or 'A Peep into the Inquisition,' had a great run and brought that institution into effectual and lasting odium." Squier, *Nicaragua*, I. 372.

¹² Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 146.

¹³ Dunn, *Guatemala*, p. 188.

within the ranks of the Liberals, in general, and between the Federal and provincial authorities, in particular. Soon the atmosphere of suspicion and intrigue produced a virtual deadlock in the Federal administration, which tempted Arce to resort to unconstitutional and violent measures. A conflict between the discordant elements within the province of Guatemala was thus imminent; but before it began, a storm which had long been brewing broke in another quarter. This was due to a quarrel between the Archbishop and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Salvador.

Though, in importance in the Federation, Salvador ranked next to Guatemala, she had no bishop of her own but was under the direct ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the latter state. Honduras and Nicaragua, on the other hand, possessed independent episcopal organizations. The seeming discrimination, though probably due to Salvador's comparatively late political organization, her smaller area, and her proximity and accessibility to Guatemala, had long been resented by the Salvadoreans, who, more than a decade before Central American independence, began a struggle for the erection of the province into a separate diocese.¹⁴ When the wars against Spain began, nothing had been definitely accomplished towards the realization of her ambitions, and, consequently, Salvador decided to act on her own initiative. Her determination to do so was largely caused by the influence of a Salvadorean priest, Matías Delgado¹⁵—who in his aspirations to wear the miter himself, had the support of the more worldly and less orthodox of the local clergy¹⁶—and by the fact that the Salvadoreans—among whom the Liberal element was particularly strong—had opposed union with Mexico, and had felt themselves betrayed by the Guatemalan

¹⁴ Marure, *Bosquejo Histórico*, I. 129; J. Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 120.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ "El clero se dividió en opiniones: pocos eclesiásticos respetables por sus virtudes y su conducta siguieron la causa de Delgado; pero encontraron apoyo en ella todos los que por la inmoralidad y los vicios, las resentimientos y las aspiraciones, estaban mal en el concepto del metropolitano."—Manuel Montúfar, *Memorias para la Historia de la Revolución de Centro-América*, p. 34.

aristocrats who favored it.¹⁷ Accordingly, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the struggle for independence, the revolutionary junta of Salvador, in 1822, erected a separate see and appointed Delgado to the office. The Constituent Assembly of the province confirmed the action two years later, and formally notified the Federal government that it had done so. It also apprised the Pope of the appointment, "in order that he might make out the necessary bulls".¹⁸ Neither Pope nor Archbishop had been consulted before this final action; but the latter promptly protested after learning of it—not, he asserted, against the creation of a separate diocese, but against the illegality of the procedure;¹⁹ and later the Pontiff threatened Salvador with excommunication and called upon Delgado to repent.²⁰ The Federal Congress, jealous of the assumption of power, and conscious of the rights of the Pope, refused to approve the action of Salvador;²¹ but the authorities of that state solemnly installed Delgado in April, 1825; and in defiance of high powers, civil and ecclesiastical, he occupied the recently constructed episcopal chair until 1829, when the Salvadoreans themselves turned against him.²²

The first result of this clash of ecclesiastical authority was a controversy between various churchmen of the Republic, led by the Archbishop. From involved arguments in which copious quotations from the Scriptures and from the Church Fathers figured largely on both sides,²³ the contestants quickly descended to a fierce paper warfare; denunciation was countered with denunciation, and anathema, with anathema.²⁴ As was inevitable, the church fell further in the respect of the intelligent part of

¹⁷ Dunn, *Guatemala*, p. 179. In the hope of saving herself from incorporation with Mexico, Salvador passed a solemn act, December 2, 1822, decreeing her union with the United States. The government at Washington appears to have paid no attention to the compliment (see Squier, *Nicaragua*, II. 383-384).

¹⁸ Marure, *Bosquejo Histórico*, I. 129-130; Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, 120.

¹⁹ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 121.

²⁰ Marure, *Bosquejo Histórico*, I. 134.

²¹ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, pp. 123, 124.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 124; Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 36.

²³ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, pp. 121-122; Dunn, *Guatemala*, pp. 117-118.

²⁴ Dunn, *Guatemala*, pp. 118-119.

the population, and it lost almost the last vestige of power for good that it had possessed among the influential part of the nation. In Salvador, in particular, which had already been profoundly influenced by the free thought of the French philosophers, infidelity grew to a degree that alarmed the more serious among the clergy, some of whom took measures designed to counteract it.²⁵

This quarrel was one of the causes of the trouble between President Arce and his congress, for the leaders of the malcontents were the members from Salvador. The Liberals of the two provinces were divided by it, and thus were further aided the intrigues with which the opposition now busied itself, led by the clergy, who could point to the atheism of Salvador and the disrespect for religion shown by its officials, as well as by the jefe and the vice-jefe of Guatemala, to prove that the Liberal party was the enemy of religion and aimed to destroy the people's means of salvation.²⁶

Meanwhile, the intrigues of the Serviles—and perhaps his own natural interests—brought Arce closer to the latter,²⁷ while his high-handed and unconstitutional procedure widened the gulf between himself and the Liberals. Then came the act which perhaps did more than anything else to precipitate the civil conflict, which the ecclesiastical schism had made virtually inevitable.²⁸ This was Arce's arrest of Barrundia, the radical jefe of Guatemala, upon the charge that he was planning a *coup de main*. Whether the accusation was well founded it is impossible to say; for while it is very evident that many Liberals, like Barrundia, would have been glad to remove Arce from

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 119. "San Salvador, at present in a state of complete anarchy, sends forth a weekly newspaper in which the authority of the pope, the celibacy of the clergy, and monastic institutions are openly ridiculed, and quotations from Voltaire striking at the root of all religion are constantly inserted" (*ibid.*). "In America there is none of the majestic solemnity attached to the Roman Catholic religion, which is found in some of the countries of continental Europe" (Dunlop, *Central America*, p. 343).

²⁶ Montúfar, *Memorias*, pp. 32-36, *passim*.

²⁷ Dunn, *Guatemala*, p. 202.

²⁸ Alejandro Marure, *Efemérides de los hechos notables acaecidos en la República de Centro-América, desde el año de 1821 hasta el de 1842*, pp. 35-36.

power, it is equally patent that the Serviles of Guatemala—especially the clerical element among them—desired to be rid of Barrundia. Furthermore, there is no doubt that at this stage plotting and scheming were rife on both sides.

Hostilities began almost immediately, with the Archbishop and Arce supporting the Serviles and del Valle on the side of the Liberals. Much of the strength of the latter came from the Salvadoreans, at first led by Bishop Delgado—who appears to have been more of a politician than a pastor—with whom the disaffected elements in Honduras and Guatemala allied themselves.²⁹ For more than two years Central America rocked and swayed under warfare as violent and destructive as a tropical storm. To the complexities and horrors of strife involving the Confederation as a whole were added those resulting from revolutions and civil conflicts within the provinces themselves. In many cases, it is impossible to determine either motives or sequence in the welter of events, but one fact stands out clearly through it all: that, except for the Salvadorean clerical adherents of Delgado, the clergy and their ignorant faithful fought desperately against the Liberals. Unspeakable atrocities were committed by both sides, but none was worse than the massacre of Vice-Jefe Flores in a church to which he had fled for sanctuary—a deed inspired by the preaching of a fanatical friar.³⁰

As the conflict proceeded, Francisco Morazán gradually came to the front as military leader of the Liberal forces, and through his superior generalship, Guatemala City was captured and the Serviles were crushed. Following this, Morazán was first made dictator, and then president, of the Republic; and in these capacities he shaped the policy of the Liberals as long as they remained dominant in the government.

²⁹ Dana G. Munro, *Central America*, p. 29.

³⁰ The special cause for hostility towards Flores was that in the general levy of taxes for state purposes, he had not spared the property of the Church. When the news of Barrundia's arrest arrived, "a friar ascended the pulpit, in the principal town, on a market-day, and by his harangue so infuriated the populace against Flores, that they started in pursuit of him, and although he sought sanctuary in the church, they followed him thither, and slaughtered him at the very foot of the altar, literally rending his body in pieces, amidst cries of "Long live Guatemala! Death to the Republic!" (Squier, *Nicaragua*, II. 396).

In view of the fact that the victors early evinced a determination to deal severely with Arce and the other non-clerical leaders of the Serviles, it would seem a foregone conclusion that the churchmen, and especially the Archbishop, would share in the punishment; for the Liberals well knew that Casaús had voted against separation from Spain,³¹ that since the establishment of independence he had used his influence against them, especially during the conflict just ended,³² and that he was opposed to the reforms—particularly those in the interests of general education—which the new government was determined to push.³³ Furthermore, it hardly seems possible that Morazán could have seriously believed that the Archbishop would even remain neutral under the existing régime, to say nothing of showing active loyalty to the party in power. Nevertheless, the victorious Liberal appears to have decided to give Casaús a fair trial, perhaps largely because he doubted his ability to cope with the situation that might be created by the latter's expulsion. Probably likewise from motives of policy, he even showed a desire to conciliate the Church party as a whole—which expected the atheistic Liberals to show a contempt for all religion—by being very punctilious about having the soldiers attend divine service.³⁴

Shortly after coming to the head of the government, Morazán had a frank talk with the Archbishop and tried to come to an understanding with him. During this conversation Casaús appears to have expressed a willingness to acquiesce in the existing state of affairs and to coöperate with the government in its efforts to restore order and to stabilize the administration.³⁵ And at this time he must have realized—what had been true

³¹ G. A. Thompson, *Narrative of an Official Visit to Guatemala*, 142; MS., by F. Morazán, *Apuntes de las revoluciones de '29*, p. 2; Marure, *Bosquejo Histórico*, I. 130.

³² "Dictamen de la comision especial nombrada por la Asamblea Legislativa del Estado del Salvador," Oct. 18, 1826, which is found in the appendix to Manuel José Arce's *Memoria*.

³³ Dunn, *Guatemala*, 104, 136; Thompson, *Narrative*, 338.

³⁴ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 269.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

before the civil wars—that he would have very little independent power, but must make appointments in harmony with the wishes of the government.

This done, Morazán proceeded. The Federal government was virtually bankrupt, and therefore Congress decreed that some of the silver should be taken from the churches and coined into money. A requisition for this purpose was accordingly presented to the Archbishop, who apparently gave the necessary orders without hesitation.³⁶ Morazán then instructed Casaús to remove certain church officials and a considerable number of priests, who were objectionable because of their enmity towards the government, and to appoint other specified ones to their places.³⁷ To some of the proposed appointments the Archbishop objected, on the basis of the men's religious views, or their characters,³⁸ or the fact that they had become his enemies in the strife over the Bishopric of Salvador; but under pressure from the government he finally made the required changes.³⁹ In doing so, however, he threw the blame for them upon Morazán—where it obviously belonged—and made evident his own helpless disapprovals by wording as follows the notifications sent

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 269; Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 169.

³⁸ "Durante la omnipotencia de Morazán en Guatemala, y antes la reunión del congreso, dominó también al arzobispo D. Fr. Ramón Casaús: le obligó por el terror y por las intrigas y sugerencias, á nombrar para provisor del arzobispado al Dr. D. José Antonio Alcayaga, y para gobernador eclesiástico del obispado de Honduras . . . al presbítero D. Francisco Márquez, de cuyas opiniones religiosas no estaba satisfecho el arzobispo, como no estaba de las del Dr. Alcayaga con respecto á las que había emitido sobre la erección de la silla episcopal en San Salvador. Morazán obligó también al arzobispo á variar casi todos los párrocos que ejercían con título de propiedad en el estado de Guatemala, y designó los que quería para subrogar á los depuestos ó separados: entre los que se nombraron había una porción de eclesiásticos cuya conducta moral era en lo privado y en lo público reprehensible y escandalosa." (Montúfar, *Memorias*, pp. 169-170).

The charges against the religious views and the morals of the clergy of Morazán's choice probably had considerable foundation; for the churchmen who favored the Liberal cause were much influenced by the teachings of the French philosophers, and laxity of morals was likely to increase among the clergy in proportion as infidelity grew.

³⁹ Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 170.

to the new appointees: "The General has demanded the deposition of — and appointed you in his place."⁴⁰

Realizing the probable effect of such a communication upon the clergy as a whole and upon their adherents, Morazán was very indignant when he heard what Casaus had done, and wrote him an angry letter, in which he indicated that he thought that the tactics used were intended to precipitate an uprising.

"Most Reverend Archbishop," he proceeded, "the form of your notification is alarming, and a personal insult to me. Your conduct is in glaring contradiction of the principles of prudence and moderation which would be in order, and completely at variance with the sentiments you displayed in our private discussions. . . . I have still the sword in my hand, my victorious army is ready to execute my commands; I maintain the rights of the people and defend the laws; and I am firmly determined to remove by the power of arms all the obstacles which might oppose the establishment of order and law, wherever moderation and courtesy prove without avail."⁴¹

Some authorities are of the opinion that this letter was not dispatched to the Archbishop, but that one of milder tone was substituted.⁴² Whether or not this was the case is of little importance to the question. The really significant fact is the character of the document, for it discloses Morazán's attitude, and makes it evident that if he had not already decided to lay violent hands upon Casaus it would take very little more to persuade him to do so. There is no available evidence that further communications passed between the two men.

Not long after Morazán had written the sharp criticism of the Archbishop, and but two days following the proscription by the Federal Congress of a number of lay members of the defeated Serviles, Morazán, who had been recently invested with extraordinary powers, gave orders for the expulsion of Casaus and a

⁴⁰ Translated from Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 269. J. Haefkens was consul-general for the Netherlands in Central America during the period in question, and his testimony is of much value, as coming from an unbiased outsider.

⁴¹ Translated from Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, pp. 269-270.

⁴² Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 270.

large portion of the members of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Recollect orders of Guatemala City.⁴³ The discovery of a conspiracy against the government in which the Prelate and the friars were involved was given as the reason for the action.⁴⁴ Several civil or military officials, likewise accused of implication in the alleged plot, were at the same time arrested and thrown into prison.⁴⁵

That many of the priests and friars had previously opposed, and plotted against, the Liberals, and that they were living in the hope that Central America might soon be brought again under Spanish rule and their ancient privileges be restored,⁴⁶ was common knowledge, but whether either they or the Archbishop were guilty of a specific plot against the government at the time of their arrest is somewhat doubtful; for it seems as if more details would be available if a definite conspiracy had been laid bare. The charge may have been published by the government simply with a view to justifying its contemplated action in the eyes of the nation—a theory which gains considerable support from the fact that the officials who were arrested as fellow conspirators were quietly released shortly after the accused clergy had been removed from the city.⁴⁷

It should be emphasized, however, that the primary reason for the expatriation of the friars was the belief that they were a menace to the government, and, hence, to the Republic, and not, as some writers have implied, the mere desire for an excuse to profit by their wealth. Yet it is not necessary to assume that Morazán and his associates were unmindful of the fact that the orders—especially that of St. Dominic⁴⁸—were reported to possess much wealth, which might come in handy in helping fill the depleted coffers of the nation, and in feeding and paying

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 271; Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 170; Marure, *Efemérides*, p. 25.

⁴⁴ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 272; Dunlop, *Central America*, p. 177; Squier, *Nicaragua*, II. 408.

⁴⁵ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 272.

⁴⁶ Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 146; Dunn, *Guatemala*, p. 116.

⁴⁷ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 272.

⁴⁸ Thompson, *Narrative*, p. 146.

the army, the maintenance of which was essential to Liberal control.⁴⁹

The arrests were made on the night of July 10, 1829. The servants of the Archbishop were temporarily imprisoned in one of the rooms of the latter's palace and guarded by soldiers, and Casaus was given notice to prepare for his departure. After he had gathered some of his possessions and made other arrangements, the Prelate was placed in a chair and carried away from the palace, well escorted by troops.⁵⁰ A little later, his journey out of the country began. Notwithstanding the charges of anti-Liberal writers,⁵¹ considerable pains seem to have been taken to treat the Archbishop as became his rank. Transportation facilities were so poor as to make it necessary that he ride to the coast; but two hundred and eighteen pesos, as the accounts indicate, were paid for a mule and its equipment for his accommodation, pages to accompany him and take care of his effects cost something over a thousand more, and two thousand pesos were allowed for the further expenses of his journey.⁵²

For most of the distance to the coast the Archbishop and the friars traveled in company, the route being from Guatemala City to the Gulf of Dulce, next, to Gualan, and then to Omoa,

⁴⁹ "The army, which contained about eighteen hundred men—including a very disproportionate number of officers—had in the beginning used about sixty thousand dollars per month for its support; now, the soldiers were in want, notwithstanding the fact that the desertions, at which the superior officers connived, had thinned the ranks. There were already some instances of soldiers who, in order to subdue the pangs of hunger, had eaten wild fruits—especially the luscious, cooling fruit of the cactus—and had succumbed to the distemper brought about by this improper diet. The resources were exhausted and there was a feeling against resorting to open violence and exaction. The State of Guatemala, which, so far, had footed the bills, had already announced that it was no longer able to do so; the other states, instead of volunteering contributions, clamored for indemnifications. Under these circumstances, it is not too much to assume that the booty expected from the monasteries may have contributed a partial motive." (Translated from Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, pp. 273-274.)

⁵⁰ Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 170; Manuel José Arce, *Memoria*, p. 123.

⁵¹ Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 170.

⁵² Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 103-104; Lorenzo Montúfar, *Reseña Histórica de Centro-América*, I. 157. "Una persona que lleva todo esto no puede decir que carece de provisiones. San Pedro no habría necesitado tanto". (Montúfar, *Reseña Histórica*, I. 157.)

where ship was taken.⁵³ Casaús, evidently through preference, went to Havana, where the Spanish authorities received him well. A short time after his arrival he was voted a pension of three thousand pesos by the Spanish government,⁵⁴ and subsequently he was appointed to the see of Havana, which he occupied until his death, in 1845.⁵⁵

Presumably, stimulated by the fact of Casaús having accepted bounty at the hands of the repudiated motherland, in June, 1830, the Congress of Central America declared the Archbishop a traitor, confiscated his property, and passed against him a formal sentence of expatriation.⁵⁶

On the night on which the Archbishop was apprehended the troops of Morazán also took captive a large number of the members of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Recollect orders living in the capital.⁵⁷ After their houses had been surrounded by soldiers, the brethren were assembled in response to roll-call,⁵⁸ and were commanded to mount at once the horses and mules that stood ready in the courtyards. Ignorant of what awaited them, but fearing the worst, the friars obeyed and were promptly taken under military guard to the Gulf of Dulce, where they were soon joined by the Archbishop, after which the whole group of prisoners proceeded to the coast and were put aboard two vessels which were about ready for departure.⁵⁹ Both ships appear to have gone first to Havana, where most of the friars

⁵³ Arce, *Memoria*, p. 123; Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 271.

⁵⁴ Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 171.

⁵⁵ Marure, *Efemérides*, pp. 61-62. After the Serviles gained control in Central America, Casaús was repeatedly invited to return, but he never did (Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 104).

⁵⁶ Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 171; Crowe, *Gospel in Central America*, p. 131.

⁵⁷ Marure, *Efemérides*, p. 25; Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 170.

⁵⁸ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 271. According to Thompson (*Narrative*, p. 191) there were in Guatemala City, in 1825, about one hundred and twenty friars, all told, who belonged to these three orders. Haefkens says (*Centraal Amerika*, p. 271) that about sixty were banished. Just how much effort was made to distinguish the innocent from the guilty is not apparent, but it is quite evident that all of the members of the three orders were not sent out of the country when the Archbishop was banished. (See G. F. von Tempsky, *Mitla*, p. 372.)

⁵⁹ Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 170; Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 271.

disembarked with Archbishop Casaus, but a number of them continued to New Orleans in the United States packet *Albany*.⁶⁰

Some of the friars, especially those of advanced age, died during the voyage, and others, after they had reached their destinations.⁶¹ This unhappy fact was made much of by the enemies of the Liberal cause;⁶² but there seems to be no doubt that the prisoners were treated about as well as conditions permitted. The hardships they suffered were the result of circumstances rather than of any aim to insult and persecute them. A heavy rain was falling when they departed from Guatemala City, and, for some reason that is not clear, the friars had to walk for the first three miles.⁶³ The exposure to the weather was doubtless very hard on the aged, and also the mental strain; for many of the prisoners believed when they were arrested that they were about to be put to death.⁶⁴ But they were soon assured that they were in no such danger, and were supplied with mounts for practically the whole journey to the port of Omoa. They were, moreover, given time to rest and recuperate at Gualan.⁶⁵ Their food aboard ship was coarse and simple, and the water with which they were furnished was bad; but, as regards both food and drink, they fared no worse than did the sailors.⁶⁶ There was this difference, however: the mariners were accustomed to such treatment, while the friars were not. It should be borne in mind, also, that the voyage was long and rough; for the passage between Honduras and Havana alone consumed sixteen days; and it took fifty-two before the exiles bound for New Orleans reached their destination.⁶⁷

Furthermore, the future needs of the banished friars were not entirely disregarded, for the Federal government voted that they be paid a pension of one hundred and fifty pesos, the money to

⁶⁰ Arce, *Memoria*, p. 123.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁶² *Ibid.*; Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 170.

⁶³ Arce, *Memoria*, p. 123.

⁶⁴ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, III. 271.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Arce, *Memoria*, p. 124.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

be secured from the property of the orders, which the republic had promptly confiscated.⁶⁸

The most valuable possession of the friars was the landed property, which the government tried to sell, but as few buyers appeared, the estates were for the most part disposed of under lease contracts.⁶⁹ Both as regards the amount of treasure found in the houses of the friars and the disposal of it, the writers of the time fail to agree. Haefkens is of the opinion that this part of the booty did not come up to expectations,⁷⁰ while Manuel Montúfar says that it exceeded them.⁷¹ Arce seems to agree with the latter;⁷² and it is probable that these two Central Americans knew whereof they spoke. According to Montúfar, the government stipulated that the sacred vessels and other ecclesiastical furnishings of value and fine workmanship should be given to the cathedral, that other articles should be distributed among the poor parishes, and that the remainder of the gold and silver objects should be melted down and coined into money.⁷³ He declares, however, that the plan largely failed of execution, and that in the end only a few individuals benefited from the confiscation of the treasure.⁷⁴ One of the newspapers of the time accused the populace and the soldiers of looting the monasteries, but both Arce and Montúfar discredit this statement,⁷⁵ and the latter indicates that those who profited were the wealthier classes and the leaders. Large amounts of the valuables, Montúfar says, reached Chiapas and the British settlements in Belize, and were used in the latter place in the payment of mercantile bills of one sort or another. And it was reported, according to the same writer, that after the plate reached the mint some of it was appropriated by an official, in lieu of salary due

⁶⁸ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, p. 276.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 175.

⁷² Arce, *Memoria*, p. 123.

⁷³ Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 175.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174; Arce, *Memoria*, p. 123.

him; and it was even hinted that some of the pieces of treasure became the private possessions of Morazán himself.⁷⁶

It seems impossible to determine the exact truth of the matter; but no person familiar with the frailties of human nature in general and with the corruptibility of public officials in particular will for a minute assume that a miracle was wrought in the case in question, and that the treasure was disposed of exactly as decreed—or even that the government intended that it should be.

Though Morazán gave the orders for the expulsion of the friars, they were issued in entire accordance with the views of the acting president of the Republic and of the new jefe of Guatemala; and after the banishment had taken place, the Federal Congress formally thanked the Commander-in-Chief for the zeal that he had displayed in the matter.⁷⁷ In fact, from this time on, there appears to have been general agreement among the Liberal leaders in the provinces and the central government that the Church in all of its branches should be placed beyond the possibility of harming the Liberal cause. In harmony with this idea, about two weeks after the religious orders had been banished, the Legislative Assembly of Guatemala passed a decree for the suppression of monastic establishments of men throughout the province", as inconsistent with republican freedom and equality, and on account of the hostility of the majority of their members against the new institutions".⁷⁸ The one exception made was the Bethlehemite hospitallers, who had busied themselves in teaching and caring for the sick, and had escaped suspicion. They were permitted to remain as secular priests.⁷⁹ All the property of the suppressed establishments was confiscated by the State.⁸⁰ The same decree encouraged nuns to

⁷⁶ . . . "se habla de vasos y piezas tomadas ó adjudicados al primer gefe del egército aliado: se habla de cantidad de plata tomada en la casa de moneda por otro funcionario, ya á cuenta de sueldos, ya sin este pretesto" (Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 175).

⁷⁷ Bancroft, *Central America*, III. 103-104.

⁷⁸ Haefkens, *Centraal Amerika*, pp. 275-276.

⁷⁹ Marure, *Efemérides*, p. 25.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*; Crowe, *Gospel in Central America*, p. 131.

secularize, and cut off recruits for the nunneries by prohibiting all future vows and professions by women.⁸¹ On September 7th of the same year the Federal Congress declared that religious orders would no longer be received or recognized in the land; and the various provinces of the Confederation quickly ratified the declaration.⁸²

The members of the religious orders who were not banished with the Archbishop fared variously. Those who were regarded as dangerous to the government were ordered to leave the country, and in some cases were escorted out of the land; while others departed on their own initiative.⁸³ Some preferred to doff their ecclesiastical garb and remain, engaged in secular pursuits.⁸⁴ Most of the nuns seem to have continued true to their vows, and to have pursued their cloistered lives with renewed zeal, which perhaps accounts for their being further limited in 1834 by a decree prohibiting the authorities from retaining those who refused to reside in the convents where they professed.⁸⁵

The confiscated buildings of the religious orders were put to various secular uses, generally in execution of the progressive plans of the Liberals. The house of the Dominicans in Guatemala City became a model prison, like those recently established in the United States, the cells of the friars being altered to accommodate criminals; another convent in the capital was occupied by the new Lancasterian normal school; a third was converted into a public hospital; while still others were employed as military barracks, or in connection with governmental plans for the improvements of agriculture and commerce.⁸⁶ Convent buildings in the outlying parts of the Republic were put to similar uses.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Marure, *Efemérides*, p. 25; Crowe, *Gospel in Central America*, p. 131.

⁸² Marure, *Efemérides*, p. 57, 59; Squier, *Nicaragua*, II. 409.

⁸³ Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 176; Squier, *Nicaragua*, II. 408.

⁸⁴ Tempsky, *Mitla*, p. 372; G. W. Montgomery, *Narrative of a Journey to Guatemala, in Central America, in 1838*, p. 92.

⁸⁵ Marure, *Efemérides*, p. 57.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 72, 87; Montúfar, *Memorias*, p. 176; Crowe, *Gospel in Central America*, p. 136.

⁸⁷ Squier, *Nicaragua*, I. 372.

The more immediate danger to the government having been removed by the expulsion of the Archbishop and by the acts against the regular clergy, the Liberals proceeded further to weaken the Church on its secular side by Federal decrees prohibiting the promulgation, without previous governmental consent, of papal enactments of every description, and providing that the appointment of all high Church dignitaries be made by the president of the Republic.⁸⁸ A still bolder step was taken in May, 1832, when Congress declared complete religious freedom, and promised protection to all denominations—a measure which the provincial assemblies promptly confirmed.⁸⁹

Indeed, in some cases the states anticipated or exceeded the central government in their anti-clerical legislation. Perhaps the most extreme example of this is furnished by Honduras, which decreed, in May, 1830, that secular priests might marry and their children inherit just as did the offspring of other marriages; and what makes the law of special interest is the fact that it was proposed by a bishop who had allied himself with the Liberals and sat in the provincial assembly.⁹⁰ Presumably with the object of more closely identifying the secularized friars also with the main body of the population, Honduras—later followed by Guatemala—specifically decreed that this anomalous group should come under the regular inheritance laws, and should enjoy full rights of citizenship.⁹¹ At about the time that the central government proclaimed religious freedom, most of the states struck the Church a blow on the financial side by prohibiting all payment of tithes.⁹² In 1834, Costa Rica and

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 371; Crowe, *Gospel in Central America*, pp. 131-132; Dunlop, *Central America*, p. 181.

⁸⁹ Crowe, *Gospel in Central America*, pp. 131-132. In consequence of this decree, Frederick Crowe, who was a British Baptist missionary, began his labors in Central America. He remained until religious intolerance was reëstablished through the victory of the Serviles.

⁹⁰ Marure, *Efemérides*, pp. 60-61; Karl Scherzer, *Wanderungen durch die Mittel-Amerikanischen Freistaaten*, p. 316. The law was repealed in the following year, but the part relating to inheritance was reënacted in 1833 (see Arce, *Efemérides*, pp. 60-61).

⁹¹ Marure, *Efemérides*, p. 82.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Guatemala, in the hope of eliminating one of the most powerful means of control possessed by the clergy, declared the abolition of all fête and saints' days of the Roman Church, except Sunday and five of the most sacred holidays.⁹³ The thought of weakening priestly power also prompted the provision by some of the states for cemeteries under public control;⁹⁴ and was the basis for the decree passed by Guatemala in 1837—and enacted by the Federal Congress the following year—which declared that marriage should be recognized before the law as merely a civil contract.⁹⁵

It is doubtful whether the Central American Confederation could have long survived, even if the influence of the Church could have been completely eliminated; for individual selfishness and the schism created by Delgado prevented solidarity among the Liberals; and the many members of the Servile group who were unmoved by religious interests were determined to gain the ascendancy at all odds; furthermore, with these latter was allied a strong British element—official representatives as well as private individuals—who labored incessantly to overthrow Morazán and his supporters, because of a determination displayed by these Liberals to thwart British ambitions and designs on the Isthmus.⁹⁶ As it was, Roman Catholicism proved the most direct and most inevitable cause for the downfall of the Liberals and the destruction of the Union. This was due to the fact that in its efforts to destroy the clerical menace, the government simply increased the power of the enemy. For though, by persistent effort, the Liberals had transformed the Church from a religious monopoly, supported at public expense, into a private organization—shorn of much of its wealth, and, apparently, of its most obvious means of control—which must take its chances with other religious bodies that might be established in the land; and though the most intelligent part of the

⁹³ Crowe, *Gospel in Central America*, p. 136; Montúfar, *Reseña histórica*, II. 78.

⁹⁴ Montúfar, *Reseña histórica*, II. 78.

⁹⁵ Marure, *Efemerides*, p. 93.

⁹⁶ Mary W. Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy*, p. 3

population had come to hold most of its teachings in contempt and to ridicule many of its practices;⁹⁷ so firm was the grip of the priests upon the ignorant masses, that not only were the laws which were intended to liberate the humbler members of the population from clerical influence of no effect,⁹⁸ but the zeal of the masses for the Church was vastly increased, and, through the preaching of the enraged clergy, their distrust and fear of the Liberals created in them a solidarity which could be employed with disastrous effect under priestly leadership.

This power in the hands of the Church had repeatedly shown sinister possibilities through sullen opposition here and there to the innovations of financial exactions of the government; or in the form of uprisings in the provinces against measures that seemed to endanger religion; and only a fitting opportunity was needed to produce wide-spread and successful resistance. This chance came in 1837 when an epidemic of cholera scourged the land. At the time when it appeared, the Indians of the District of Mita, influenced by their priests and other ill-disposed persons, were much perturbed over the system of trial by jury—incomprehensible to them—which was being introduced. The disease spread rapidly, and the government, in the hope of somewhat alleviating the situation, dispatched the available physicians and medical students, as well, to the afflicted districts with remedies for distribution. But their ministrations were of little or no avail, and the natives died by the thousand. A frenzy of terror, which the vigilant clergy promptly used to advantage, soon seized the poor wretches. The disease, the priests intimated, was caused by the Liberals having poisoned the rivers and streams with a view to wiping out the original population and repopling the land with foreigners. In proof of this, they pointed to a recent grant of territory in Vera Paz made to a British colonization company. A cry was now raised by the

⁹⁷ . . . "all the young people above the laboring classes have, in spite of them [the priests] imbibed infidel opinions, and make no hesitation in calling the Christian revelation a ridiculous fable, and the priests, comedians and cheats" (Dunlop, *Central America*, p. 342).

⁹⁸ Dunlop, *Central America*, p. 343, and *passim*; Montúfar, *Reseña histórica*, II. 78.

frantical Indians against their supposed murderers, and against the foreign usurpers. Before the physicians could escape, some of them were seized and put to death by various methods of torture.⁹⁹

In this manner the insurrectionary movement began in the District of Mita; but it spread rapidly, gaining support not only from the ignorant masses in other parts of the country, but from the aristocratic Serviles and political and religious exiles—who now returned home—and, towards the last, from those who deserted the losing cause of the Liberals. The leader of the Mita aborigines was an illiterate mestizo youth, Rafael Carrera, who, at the outset, was merely a tool in the hands of the priests; but his power and self-importance increased as the revolt spread, and he was soon hailed as general and commander-in-chief of the motley and heterogeneous army that rallied about him. Stimulated by his military successes and encouraged by the ecclesiastics, this unkempt and ignorant stripling soon came to regard himself as a “man of destiny”, called by the Almighty to tear down the existing order in the interest of a system of some other type, to be instituted by himself.¹⁰⁰

Even before the rise of Carrera, the nation was in a bad way: the Federal government was showing serious signs of demoralization, and secession had become an epidemic among the provinces. When the insurrection broke out among the Indians, Francisco Morazán, who for two terms had served as president, headed the military forces of the Liberals and fought now here and now there as the power which had armed itself to destroy him appeared in new quarters. But the odds were on the other side. By April, 1840, Morazán's defeat was so decisive that,

⁹⁹ Marure, *Efemérides*, pp. 95–96; Crowe, *Gospel in Central America*, p. 141; Dunlop, *Central America*, pp. 192–194; Montgomery, *Narrative*, pp. 142–143.

¹⁰⁰ “They [the priests] proclaimed to the natives that he was their protecting angel Rafael, descended from heaven to take vengeance on the heretics, Liberals, and foreigners, and to restore their ancient dominion. They devised various tricks to favor the delusion, which were heralded as miracles. A letter was let down from the roof of one of the churches, in the midst of a vast congregation of Indians, which purported to come from the Virgin Mary, commissioning Carrera to lead in a general revolt against the government, and assuring him of the tangible interposition of Heaven!” (Squier, *Nicaragua*, II. 429–430.)

with a handful of loyal followers, he fled to Chile, leaving behind him the wreck of the Confederation in the hands of the Serviles. Two years later when Morazán returned, with the object of restoring the union of the provinces, he overestimated the zeal felt for this cause, was overthrown and imprisoned as a result of an insurrection produced by his financial exactions; and, on September 18, 1841, was shot by his captors. With him perished the best hope of Central America.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

EL DERECHO CONSUETUDINARIO Y LA DOCTRINA DE LOS JURISTAS EN LA FORMACION DEL DERECHO INDIANO

El estudio del derecho indiano—desde el punto de vista externo—tiene innegable importancia. A su luz puede seguirse el origen y transformación del propósito político que ha inspirado la legislación; su carácter teórico y su inaplicabilidad práctica; puede observarse el modo peculiar que le han impuesto las costumbres y la época; permite evidenciar sus modestos comienzos, su desarrollo paulatino, su vigoroso enriquecimiento como instrumento de gobierno; trasluce la ignorancia o la calrovidencia del conocimiento geográfico, étnico, político, y económico del imperio colonial; descubre la orientación de los estudios de derecho y la posible influencia ejercida, en la redacción de la ley, por estadistas y juristas. Por último, es indispensable el estudio de todos estos órganos productores de reglas jurídicas porque cada uno de ellos va reflejando aspectos múltiples de un derecho vivo de rico contenido. La noción del proceso histórico de este derecho es fundamental. Instituciones y costumbres que no están consignadas en la *Recopilación* de 1680—que solo inserta las que estaban en vigor—fueron autorizadas por leyes anteriores, derogadas despues; pero las instituciones y costumbres subsistieron vigorosamente, a veces, no obstante las disposiciones en contrario de las nuevas leyes.

De ahí la trascendencia que tuvo en América el derecho consuetudinario, pudiéndose decir de él que constituye todo un cuerpo de derecho positivo, formado natural y espontáneamente a espaldas de la legislación que se dictaba.

En primer término corresponde decir que el derecho indigena sobrevivió después de la conquista española e inspiró la legislación indiana mas de lo que comunmente se admite. El desarrollo de tal tópico, nos obligaría a apartarnos de nuestro tema

principal, que consiste en llamar la atención sobre el fondo de costumbres y prácticas jurídicas y sociales de los aborígenes que sirvió de base a la organización política y social hispano-americana. Hablando de las autoridades de los españoles en el Perú, recomendaba Matienzo a los gobernantes que no entraran

de presto a mudar las costumbres y hazer nuevas leyes y ordenanzas, hasta conocer las condiciones y costumbres de los naturales de la tierra y españoles que en ella habitan, que como es larga son diversas las costumbres, como los temples; hase primero de acomodar a las costumbres de los que quieren gobernar y andar a su gusto, hasta que ganadas con ellos la oppinion y fee con la autoridad que tiene hazerles mudar costumbres, y si de golpe se quissiese quitar las borracheras de los indios que residen in Potosi, yr se an y si de golpe se quissiessen poner en orden a los caciques que no tiranizasen sus Indios, podria resultar de ello algun daño.¹

Y agregaba el docto magistrado: “gran prudencia ha menester al que governare”.

Se explica la enorme influencia ejercida por el imperio de las costumbres de los naturales de América, si se tiene presente que no pocas instituciones legisladas por España, se refieren sustancialmente a modalidades típicas de la organización de los indios. Es supérfluo recordar que la Mita, es institución aborigen; el regimen tributario impuesto a los indios por los españoles, se erigió sobre la base de la organización existente; y que acaso como trata de probarse hoy, las “provincias” en que estaba dividido el “huno” en el Perú, eran distritos que pasaron a convertirse en encomiendas.²

El derecho consuetudinario tuvo en Indias una fuerza legal reconocida en muchos casos, aun cuando el texto expreso de la Ley de Toro (que se mandaba observar en defecto de la legislación de Indias) mandaba que los ordenamientos y pragmáticas

¹ *Gobierno del Peru*, edición de la Fac. de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires, 1910, pág. 118.

² “Observaciones sobre la organización social de Perú antiguo.” por E. Zunkowski, Lima, 1919.

debían aplicarse sin poderse alegar “que no son usadas e guardadas”.³

El rey Felipe IV por decreto del 29 de setiembre de 1628 (ley XXI, tit. II, del lib. II de la *Representación*) definió los requisitos que debía reunir la costumbre a que se refieran las mercedes reales.⁴

Solórzano alude varias veces al derecho consuetudinario indiano y exalta su importancia. El ilustre jurista tenía el concepto de que el buen legislador “ha de acomodar sus preceptos, conforme las regiones, y gentes a quienes los endereza, y su disposicion y capacidad”, debiendo “con su industria y humanidad mirar y disponer lo que les pueda convenir, como mas les convenga; como lo aconsejo gravemente Ciceron a su hermano, cuando estaba en el virreynato del Asia”. Fundado en el moderno concepto del derecho objetivo e histórico, Solórzano consideraba que “no menos diferentes suelen ser las costumbres de cada region, que los aires que las bañan y los términos que las dividen”,⁵ lamentándose “que varones tan doctos y prudentes hablaran facilmente con tanta generalidad”.⁶

³ Las Leyes IV, V y VI, tit. II de la Partida 1.ª se ocupan de la costumbre y de sus maneras. Berni admite que la costumbre “o es interpretativa de la Ley o contra Ley o no aviendo Ley” (“Apuntamientos sobre las Leyes de Partida”, I, pág. 13, Valencia 1759). “La costumbre que interpreta la Ley no requiere noticia del Principe, y no puede extenderse de caso a caso ni de lugar a lugar” agrega el autor citado. Se admite que en ausencia de Ley la costumbre tiene fuerza de tal: y Bovadilla afirmaba que la costumbre “hace callar las leyes y Reescriptos de los Principes”, concluyendo en que se habia de juzgar por la costumbre si la ley no tuviera clausula derogatoria, “y en caso que la tenga, se entiende derogar la costumbre pasada pero no la futura, y que está por introducir, porque esta tiene fuerza de derogar la Ley, segun lo dispone una Ley de Partida, que dice así: e aun ha poderio muy grande que puede tirar las Leyes antiguas, que fuesen fechas antes que ella”. (*Politica para corregidores*, Lib. III, Cap. VIII, Num. 195 y 196, Madrid 1775.)

⁴ “Cuando Nos fuéremos servidos—dice la ley citada de la *Recopilación de Indias*—de conformarnos en respuesta de consulta con lo que parece siendo costumbre: declaramos que esta no se ha de entender en dos o tres actos solos, sino en muchos continuados, sin interrupcion ni orden en contrario. Y para que tengan efecto las mercedes que hicieramos con este presupuesto, se han de fundar en costumbre asentada, fija sin alteracion ni prohibicion en contrario y con muchos actos en el mismo genero que lo confirmen.”

⁵ *Politica Indiana* pág. 109, Amberes 1703.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pág. 127.

Especialmente, Solórzano invoca las prácticas del derecho consuetudinario, atribuyéndoles fuerza legal, en punto a los servicios que podían prestar los indios,⁷ del electo para una iglesia que administra mientras le viene la confirmación⁸ y con respecto a ciertos usos de mercaderes y contratantes de las Indias.⁹

Una prolija búsqueda en los archivos judiciales de la colonia podría suministrar preciosos elementos, para estimar la aplicación de que fué objeto el derecho consuetudinario en la magistratura de las Indias. Se sabe la importancia que este derecho tiene en la actividad comercial; los mercaderes del Río de la Plata, por ejemplo, se negaron a pagar el derecho de alcabala, en 1808, argumentando que “los usos y costumbres que introdujo la duración y sancionó el consentimiento de las autoridades han tenido siempre un lugar muy preferente en los Códigos de la Nación”. Después de aludirse a las leyes de Partida ya citadas que se ocupan del derecho consuetudinario, el petitorio termina diciendo: “De aquí nace que la costumbre sea tan sagrada, tan digna de respeto y observancia como lo es la misma voluntad del legislador”.¹⁰

Si no el origen, por lo menos la vigorosa existencia y continuo funcionamiento de algunas instituciones coloniales, como los cabildos abiertos, solo se explican a través del derecho consuetudinario. Según Bovadilla, el uso había determinado la reunión de consejos abiertos en los pueblos menores. En la *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias* (Ley II, tit. XI, lib. IV, real cédula de Felipe IV de 23 de noviembre de 1623) solo se habla de los cabildos abiertos para consignar la prohibición de elegir de su seno procuradores de la ciudad. Además de reconocer su existencia, no parece sino que la ley no le prohíbe otra cosa a los cabildos abiertos Lo cierto es que en los tres siglos de la dominación española, en pueblos mayores y menores, se celebraron cabildos abiertos. Buenos Aires del siglo XVI o de la centuria décima octava—cuando tenía apenas mil vecinos o cuando su población pasaba de 40,000 habitantes—convocó parte de su vecindario,

⁷ *Op. cit.* pág. 76. ⁸ *Op. cit.* pág. 273.

⁹ *Op. cit.* pág. 524.

¹⁰ Archivo General de la Nación, “Hacienda”, Legajo 137, Expediente 3467.

para consultarle sobre asuntos baladí o importantes cuestiones económicas y políticas. No es posible estudiar la vida del organismo de los cabildos abiertos a través de las variantes de la legislación o con ayuda de la doctrina, en mérito de la insuficiencia de tales antecedentes, si bien suministran los datos elementales para explicar su origen; en cambio debe llevarse a cabo, observando su funcionamiento, aproximándose al fenómeno vivo.

En cuanto a la doctrina científica de los estudiosos, especialmente versados en el derecho de Indias, no es aventurado establecer que la legislación dictada para América de fines del siglo XVI y hasta realizarse la *Recopilación* al terminar el siglo XVII, es obra completa de juristas e historiadores y que las reformas fundamentales del siglo XVIII fueron en gran parte aconsejadas por hombres de estado y economistas, en una época en que provocóse el florecimiento de los estudios de derecho patrio. No corresponde hacer mención en esta oportunidad de la obra legislativa de Juan de Ovando, Diego de Encinas, Aguiar y Acuña, Pinelo, Solórzano, que fué a perpetuarse en la *Recopilación* de 1680; así como tampoco, de la labor de Uztariz, Marques de la Ensenada, Ward, Ulloa, Rubalcaba, Campomanes, Jovellanos, que proyectaron las vastas reformas de carácter económico de la legislación indiana del siglo XVIII.¹¹ Pero queremos significar con respecto a los juristas indianos, que aparte de haber impulsado la elaboración del derecho del Nuevo Mundo, intervinieron eficazmente en su renovación, mejoramiento y progreso.

Como hombres de ley que eran, afirmaron la necesidad de implantar en las colonias, una administración ordenada y bien atendida, una dirección técnica y un gobierno jurídico y no de fuerza.

Matienzo y Solórzano consideraban que los virreyes del Nuevo Mundo debían tomar consejo de los hombres "que lo sean de

¹¹ Vease para estos puntos nuestros trabajos *Notas para el estudio del Derecho Indiano*, 1918, y *La política económica de España en América y la Revolución de 1810*, 1914.

aquella tierra y tengan más experiencia".¹² Estimaban complejo el gobierno de la sociedad indiana, donde se experimentan

repentinas y peligrosas mudanzas, se ignoran las leyes municipales o no ay las que basten para todos los casos, y si nos queremos valer de las Romanas o de las de Castilla, repugnan con las que de antiguo tuvieron los naturales.

Los nombrados juristas afirmaban que debían enviarse al Nuevo Mundo en caracter de virreyes "a hombres Togados, versados y experimentados en los Supremos Consejos", y no a "Cavalleros de capa y espada y Señores de Titulo".

Entre todos los juristas, la obra del ilustre Juan de Solórzano Pereyra debe inspirar efusiva estimación en los americanos.

Solórzano, en efecto, figura entre los pocos escritores que defendieron con amor a los "criollos", exaltaron sus virtudes y capacidad y proclamaron la necesidad de reconocerles iguales en derecho que a los españoles. Casi todo el capítulo XXX del lib. II de la *Política Indiana* es un alegato en favor de quienes Solórzano decía que "no se puede dudar que sean verdaderos Españoles", aduciendo abundantes razones

"para convencer la ignorancia o mala intencion de los que no quieren que los criollos participen del derecho y estimacion de Españoles, tomando por achaque, que degeneran tanto con el cielo y temperamento de aquellas provincias, que pierden quanto bueno les pudo influir la sangre de España y apenas los quieren juzgar dignos del nombre de Racionales como lo solian hazer los judios de Jerusalem y Palestina, teniendo y menospreciando por barbaros a los que nacia[n] o habitaban entre Gentiles . . ."¹³

Tal actitud de Solórzano no es solamente simpática al corazón de los americanos; se impone también a su inteligencia y reflexión porque descubre en el sabio jurista un espíritu de vidente penetración en el porvenir entonces lejano, que plantearía con el tiempo la lucha entre la minoría gobernante y la inmensa masa social de los nacidos en la tierra.

¹² *Política Indiana*, pág. 447.

¹³ *Política Indiana*, pág. 127.

Solórzano ilustra, que quienes particularmente se encargaron de desacreditar a los criollos fueron los prelados españoles que pretendían excluirlos de las dignidades y cargos honrosos de sus ordenes, habiendo llegado a poner en duda, un obispo de Méjico, si los criollos podían o no ser ordenados de sacerdotes. Al Padre José de Acosta, que decía de los criollos "que maman en la leche de los vicios y lascivia de los indios", le contesta Solórzano observando la inmensidad de estos territorios sus diferencias y la de los naturales entre sí, para rechazar la afirmación simple y absoluta, aceptando en cambio que en muchos puntos los criollos "nacian bien templados y morigerados". Contemplaba con elevación y espíritu apostólico la suerte de otros hombres, y agregaba:

Fuera de que, assi como entre cardos y espinas se dan rosas y de las bestias fieras muchas se amansan. Assi tambien no ay tierra por destemplada que sea y de malos climas que no aya dado y dé muchas veces, insignes y claros varones en virtudes, armas o letras. . . .¹⁴

Después de testimoniar la existencia de muchos criollos

que han salido insignes en armas y letras y lo que mas importa en lo sólido de virtudes heroicas, exemplares y prudenciales, de que me fuera facil hazer un copioso Catalogo,

termina protestando contra la mala opinión difundida sobre ellos y de la injusticia y agravio que se les inferia desconociéndoles el ejercicio de iguales derechos que a los españoles. Consecuente con tal principio proclama la conveniencia de que en la provision de los cargos, se prefiera en igualdad de méritos, a los que hubieren nacido en las Indias. Refiriéndose especialmente a los cargos de la Iglesia y Beneficio, lamentase en nombre de los criollos y fundado en diversas autoridades "que por muchos meritos que

¹⁴ Con más fervor, si cabe, Solórzano defendió a los indios. Admirables páginas tiene dedicado a este asunto en los Libros II y III. No solo abogó por ellos en sus escritos; fué un recto magistrado que castigó, sin piedad y sin miedo, los excesos de los encomenderos, sentenciando así: "sean privados de lo propio los que con fraude apeticieron lo ageno y se avergüenzan de quitar a quien deben dar y amparar y de quererse hacer ricos de la corta sustancia de aquellos pobres." (Op. *Politica Indiana*, pág. 224.)

tuviessen no les tocaba un hueso roído”.¹⁵ Enseguida enumera las razones que le asisten para decidirse por la prelación de los naturales, aludiendo “al mayor amor que tendran a la tierra y patria donde nacieron” y al hecho de que

los criollos pocas veces consiguen en España premio alguno por sus estudios, meritos y servicios y si tambien se sintiessen privados de los que pueden esperar en sus tierras y que se los ocupaban los que se van de otras, podrian venir a caer en tal genero de desesperacion que aborreciesen la virtud y los estudios.¹⁶

Llegó a consignar—en afirmación audaz para su época—que alguno de los cargos del Supremo Consejo de Indias, debía proveerse con naturales de ellas o por lo menos con personas que hubieren servido muchos años en sus Audiencias.¹⁷

En 1646, Solórzano dió término a su docta obra que es monumento de derecho e historia indiana.

Hombre de estudio y estadista de vastas miras, la avanzada orientación ideológica de Solórzano, explica la profunda influencia que ejerció en el espíritu de la generación revolucionaria de América de fines del siglo XVIII.

En el más conspicuo representante de aquella generación en el Plata, Mariano Moreno, acaso han tenido tanta significación política las lecturas y comentarios del *Contrato social* de Rousseau, como de la *Política Indiana* de Solórzano.

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Buenos Aires,
Noviembre de 1919.

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¹⁵ *Política Indiana*, pág. 345.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pág. 345.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pág. 463.

[TRANSLATION]

CUSTOMARY LAW AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE JURISTS
IN THE FORMATION OF INDIAN LAW

The study of Indian law, from an external point of view, has an undeniable importance. By virtue thereof, one may follow the origin and transformation of the political design which has inspired legislation; and its theoretical character and its impossibility in practice. He may observe the peculiar methods which have been imprinted on it by customs and the period. He may glimpse its modest beginnings, its gradual development, its vigorous enrichment as an instrument of government. From it he may infer the ignorance of or insight into geographical, ethnological, political, and economic knowledge of colonial empire. It shows the orientation of the studies of law and the possible influence exercised on the compilation of the law by historians and jurists. Finally, the study of all these organisms which are productive of judicial rules is indispensable, for each of them reflects multiple aspects of a living law rich in its contents. The notion of the historical process of this law is fundamental. Institutions and customs which are not given place in the *Recopilación* of 1680 (which only inserts those laws that were in force) were authorized by preceding laws, afterwards abolished; but the institutions and customs still had a vigorous existence at times, notwithstanding the orders of new laws to the contrary.

Hence arose the very important position held by customary law in America, for it can be said of it that it constitutes an entire body of positive law, formed naturally and spontaneously behind the legislation which was enacted.

In the first place it is fitting to say that native law survived after the Spanish conquest and inspired Indian legislation more than is commonly admitted. The development of such a topic would compel us to depart from our principal theme, which consists in calling attention to the background of customs and juridical and social practices of the aborigines which served as the foundation for the Hispanic American political and social organization. When speaking of Spanish authorities in Peru, Matienzo recommended that governors should not undertake

to change customs suddenly and to make new laws and ordinances before knowing the condition and customs of the natives of the land and the Spaniards living there, for since the land is extensive it has many different customs just as it has

many different climates. One must first reconcile the customs of those who wish to govern and act as they please, so that after having obtained their good will, he may by means of his authority make them change their customs. But if one were to try to put a sudden end to the drunkenness of the Indians living in Potosí, they would resist, and if one should try suddenly to order the caciques not to tyrannize over their Indians, some harm might result from such an action.¹

And the learned magistrate added "He who rules must be exceedingly prudent."

The vast influence exercised by the rule of the customs of the natives of America is explained, if one keep in mind that not a few of the institutions created by Spain are substantially related to typical models of the organization of the Indians. It is superfluous to mention that the *Mita* is an aboriginal institution. The tributary system imposed on the Indians by the Spaniards was built up on the foundation of the existing organization. And when, perhaps, the proof of which is today being attempted, the "provinces" into which the "huno" of Peru was divided, were districts which were later converted into *encomiendas*.²

Customary law found in the Indies an acknowledged legal force in many cases although the express text of the *Ley de Toro* (which it was ordered should be observed in defect of the legislation of the Indies) commanded that the ordinances and pragmatics must be applied without any authority alleging "that they are not observed and kept."³

¹ *Gobierno del Perú*, edition of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, Buenos Aires, 1910, p. 118.

² *Observaciones sobre la organización social del Perú antiguo*, by E. Zunkalowski, Lima, 1919.

³ Laws IV, V, and VI, título II. of the first *Partida* treat of customs and manners. Berni admits that custom "either is an interpretation of the law, or contrary to the law, or in the absence of law (*Apuntamientos sobre las Leyes de Partida*, Valencia, 1759, I. 13). "The custom which interprets the law, does not require the notice of the prince, and can not be extended from case to case nor from place to place," adds the author above cited. It is admitted that in the absence of law, custom has the force of law. Bovadilla asserted that custom "puts to silence the laws and rescripts of princes", and concluded by saying that sentence had to be passed in accordance with custom if the law had no derogatory stipulation, "and in case that it has such a stipulation, it shall be understood as annulling past but not future custom, or any custom to be introduced, for this has the force of annulling the law, according as is declared by a law of the *Partida*, to the following effect: 'and it is even very powerful, for it takes precedence of old laws that might have been enacted before it'." (*Política para corregidores*, Madrid, 1775, book III. chapter VIII. numbers 195 and 196.)

King Philip IV., by a decree of September 29, 1628 (ley XXI., tft. II., of the *Representación*) defined the necessary conditions to be met by the custom to which the royal grants might refer.⁴

Solórzano alludes upon various occasions to Indian customary law and exalts its importance. The illustrious jurist believed that the good legislator "must conform his precepts to the regions and peoples concerned, and to their temperament and capacity", and "by his industry and humanity", he ought "to consider and provide what may be advantageous for them, as the most advantageous thing for them, as Cicero gravely counseled his brother, when the latter occupied the viceroyalty of Asia". Based on the modern idea of objective and historical law, Solórzano considered that "the customs of each region are usually no less different than the airs which bathe them and the bounds which separate them";⁵ and he bewailed the fact "that men so learned and prudent should utter with no effort so great generalities."⁶

Solórzano especially invokes the practices of customary law, attributing to them a legal force, when they concerned the services that might be rendered by the Indians,⁷ in the case of one elected for a church which he administers until he is confirmed,⁸ and with respect to certain customs of merchants and traders of the Indies.⁹

A careful search in the judicial archives of the colony might furnish excellent materials for estimating the application of customary law in the magistracy of the Indies. The importance possessed by this law in commerical activity is known. The merchants of Río de la Plata, for instance, refused to pay the alcabala duty in 1808, on the ground that "the usages and customs introduced by long continued use and sanctioned by consent of the authorities have always had a very preferential place in the national codes". After citing the laws of the *Partida*

⁴ "Whenever it shall be our will," says the above cited law of the *Recopilación de Indias*, "to conform ourselves, after consultation, with that which appears to be custom: we declare that this shall not be understood in two or three acts only, but in many continued acts, without interruption or order to the contrary. And in order that the awards that might be made by us under this pretext may have effect, they must be founded on settled custom, established without alteration or prohibition to the contrary and by many acts of the same kind which confirm it."

⁵ *Política Indiana*, Antwerp, 1703, p. 109.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

cited above, which treat of customary law, the petitioner concludes by saying "Hence it comes about that custom is as sacred and as worthy of respect and observation as is the will itself of the legislator."¹⁰

If not the origin, at least the vigorous existence and continuous functioning of some colonial institutions, such as open cabildos, are explained only through customary law. According to Bovadilla, usage had determined the meeting in open council in the smaller towns. In the *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias* (Ley II., tit. XI., lib. IV., royal decree of Philip IV. of November 23, 1623), open cabildos are only mentioned in noting the prohibition of electing procurators of the city from their own midst. Besides recognizing their existence, it does not appear that the law prohibits anything else to open cabildos. . . . It is a fact that during the three centuries of Spanish domination, open cabildos were held in the larger and smaller towns. Buenos Aires, of the sixteenth century or of the eighteenth—when it had scarcely one thousand inhabitants or when its population exceeded 40,000—summoned a portion of its citizens together in order to consult them regarding non-essential matters or about important economic and political questions. It is impossible to study the life of the organism of open cabildos through the variations of legislation or by means of the aid of science, because of the insufficiency of such data, although these do furnish the elemental data for the explanation of its origin. On the other hand, this study ought to be completely possible by observing the working of the organism which approximates to the living phenomenon.

In regard to the scientific doctrine of studious persons especially versed in the law of the Indies, it is not running any hazard to establish the fact that the legislation enacted for America at the end of the XVI. century and until the appearance of the *Recopilación* at the end of the XVII. century, is entirely the work of jurists and historians, and that the fundamental reforms of the XVIII. century were in large measure counseled by statesmen and economists, during a period in which the increased study of native law was promoted. It is not in point to make mention at this time of the legislative work of Juan de Ovando, Diego de Encinas, Aguiar y Acuña, Pinelo, and Solórzano, which was to be perpetuated in the *Recopilación* of 1680; or of the labor of Uztariz, Marquis de la Ensenada, Ward, Ulloa, Rubalcaba, Campomanes, Jovellanos, who projected vast reforms of an economic

¹⁰ Archivo general de la Nación, "Hacienda", legajo 137, expediente 3467.

nature in the Indian legislation of the XVIII. century.¹¹ But we desire to point out with respect to the Indian jurists that aside from having given an impulse to the elaboration of the law of the New World, they intervened effectively in its renovation, improvement, and progress.

As men trained in the law, they affirmed the need of establishing in the colonies an orderly and well considered administration, a technical management, and a judicial government instead of one built on force.

Matienzo and Solórzano considered that the viceroys of the New World ought to take counsel from the men "who are of that land and have most experience".¹² They thought the government of Indian society to be complex, where there are experienced

sudden and dangerous changes, where municipal laws are ignored, and there are not enough laws for all cases, and whether we desire to make use of Roman or Castilian laws, these are at variance with those which the natives observed formerly.

The above mentioned jurists asserted that there ought to be sent to the New World as viceroys "men trained in the law who are versed and experienced in the supreme councils", instead of "military and titled men".

Among all jurists the work of the illustrious Juan de Solórzano Pereyra should inspire generous esteem among Americans.

Solórzano, in fact, figures among the few writers who defended the "creoles" warmly, exalted their virtues and capacity, and proclaimed the need of recognizing them as equal to Spaniards before the law. Almost all of chapter XXX. of book II. of *Política Indiana* is a brief in favor of those of whom Solórzano said that "it can not be doubted that they are true Spaniards". He adduces many reasons

to demonstrate the ignorance or evil intention of those who refuse to the creoles any share in the rights and prerogatives of Spaniards, taking as their excuse that the former degenerate so much because of the climate and temperature of those provinces that they lose whatever good influence the Spanish blood may have on them, and scarce will they esteem them worthy the name of rational beings, just as the Jews of Jerusalem and Palestine were wont to do, who considered as barbarians and despised those who were born or lived among Gentiles. . . . ¹³

¹¹ On these points, see our volumes *Notas para el Estudio del Derecho Indiano* (1918), and "*La Política Economía de España en América y la Revolución de 1810* (1914).

¹² *Política Indiana*, p. 447.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Such an attitude on the part of Solórzano, not only meets with a response from the American heart, but also infuses respect for his intelligence and power of thought; for it shows that the wise jurist was possessed of a spirit that could pierce the then far distant future, which as time went on would bring about the struggle between the governing minority and the immense social mass of those born in the country.

Solórzano explains that those who especially took it upon themselves to discredit the creoles were the Spanish prelates who tried to exclude them from the dignities and honorable charges of their orders; while a bishop of Mexico raised the question whether creoles could be ordained as priests or not. To Father José de Acosta, who said of the creoles "that they feed on the milk of vices and the lusts of the Indians", Solórzano replied by noting the immensity of these territories and their differences, and the differences of the natives among themselves, thus contradicting that bold and absolute assertion, and affirming on the others hand, that in many ways, the creoles "were reared very temperately and self restrained". He contemplated with a lofty and apostolic spirit the lot of other men, and added:

Besides, just as roses grow amid thistles and thorns, and just as many of the wild beasts become tame, so also there is no land, however incongruous it be and however bad its climate, that has not often given and which does not often give men who are remarkable and worthy for their virtues, arms, or letters.

. . . 14

After testifying to the existence of many creoles

who have been illustrious for their arms and letters, and what is of more importance, in the solid part of heroic, exemplary, and prudent virtues, of whom I could easily make a lengthy list,

he concludes by protesting against the bad opinion that had been scattered in regard to them, and of the injustice and injury which had been done them by refusing them the exercise of equal rights with

¹⁴ More fervently, if that be possible, Solórzano defended the Indians. He has some wonderful pages devoted to this matter in books II. and III. Not only did he act as advocate for them in his writings; he was an upright judge who punished the excesses of encomenderos without mercy and without fear, as under the following sentence: "Let those who by fraud covet what is another's be deprived of their own things; and let them be ashamed to take from those poor people to whom they ought to give and whom they ought to protect, in order to become rich on their scanty substance" (*Politica Indiana*, p. 224).

the Spaniards. Consequently, with such a beginning, he proclaims the advantage of giving the preference to those born in the Indies in the provision of offices, when it is a question of equal merit. Referring especially to the offices of the Church and of Benefices, he laments in the name of the creoles, and citing various authorities, "that notwithstanding any merits they might possess, not even a gnawed bone was given them".¹⁵ Then he relates the reasons aiding him in deciding that the preference should be given to the natives, referring "to the greater love they will bear to the land and to the country where they were born" and to the fact that

creoles very seldom obtain in Spain any reward for their studies, merits, and services, and if they should also perceive that they are deprived of those rewards which they might hope for in their own lands, and that these are obtained by those who come from other lands, they might fall into such a condition of desperation that they will hate virtue and studies.¹⁶

He ends by saying—an audacious assertion for his epoch—that some of the offices of the Supreme Council of the Indies ought to be filled with natives of the Indies, or at least by persons who had served many years in the *audiencias* of the Indies.¹⁷

In 1646, Solórzano finished his learned work, which is a monument of Indian law and history.

A studious man and a historian of vast sweep, the advanced intellectual clear sightedness of Solórzano explains the profound influence which he exercised on the spirit of the revolutionary generation of America at the end of the XVIII. century.

On the most conspicuous representative of that generation in la Plata, Mariano Moreno, the readings and commentaries of the *Social Contract* of Rousseau and the *Política Indiana* of Solórzano had perhaps an equal political influence.

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Buenos Aires, November, 1919.

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¹⁵ *Política Indiana*, p. 345.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

UNITED STATES SHIPPING IN THE LA PLATA REGION, 1809-1810

While the relations of the United States of America with all Hispanic America in 1810 are worthy of close study, those with the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata and the South American portions of the Kingdom of Portugal deserve particular attention; for neither Spain nor Portugal could then supply the needs and wants of their South American possessions. The state of almost continuous war which had existed in Western Europe since 1793, and especially that in the Spanish Peninsula since 1807, had reacted strongly on South America. More and more French colonies fell into English hands. After the English had captured Martinique from the French in February, 1809, and Santo Domingo in the following July, and 1800 Portuguese troops from Para had taken Cayenne from Victor Hugues (who escaped with \$5,000,000 worth of booty from that French naval base) in January, 1808, only Guadeloupe remained in the New World to France; and this, too, was lost in 1810. The Anglo-Spanish alliance in 1808, coinciding with the embargo in the United States, diverted the previous English ideas of invasion and conquest of South America rather into pacific commercial penetration, especially after the British military defeat at Buenos Aires in 1807; though the British were not without competitors, since at least a hundred and twenty-five United States merchant vessels had touched at Buenos Aires and Montevideo from 1798 to 1810. Many of the vessels had made long visits at those ports, where a number of United States citizens were permanently established in business. The maltreatment of some United States merchants in Buenos Aires in 1802 had led to a diplomatic question arising between the United States and Spain; and no less a person than John Quincy Adams was interested in a lawsuit growing out of this affair. Advertisements of Buenos Aires hides frequently

occur in United States newspapers from 1800 onward. At least one United States vessel was making regular journeys between the United States and the River Plate. In short, almost every point of contact possible in those days of sailing ships then existed between those widely separated parts of the Americas. It is impossible, in view of this constant communication, to deny that the example of the United States, as exhibited by its activity in the twenty-five years since the overthrow of the yoke of the Mother Country, was without effect on the events of 1810 throughout Hispanic America, and especially in Buenos Aires, whose inhabitants were then largely dependent on imported articles for their clothes, their shoes, their liquor, their furniture, their lumber, their crockery, and even the saddles for their horses. Some of these articles were coming from the United States—as well as the coach in which Dr. O’Gorman, the first practitioner in Buenos Aires, rode about that city, which possessed, according to the Argentine scholar Ravignani, 42,482 inhabitants, in 1810. It should always be remembered that communication between the different parts of South America was then, and for a long time thereafter, much quicker by water than by land; and neither Spain nor Portugal had a sufficient merchant marine to monopolize, or even control, such inter-colonial communications. The colonial isolation of South America was not broken down with vessels from the Spanish Peninsula; the United States and England furnished the means of reaching the rest of the world, including Spain and Portugal themselves. In 1810, the United States tonnage registered for foreign trade had reached its highest point in the first sixty years of that country’s independent existence, with 91.5 per cent of the total foreign trade of the United States being carried in United States vessels. When Joel Roberts Poinsett was “vested with the character of Agent for Seamen and Commerce” of the United States of America at Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, and Lima, on August 27, 1810, that country stood second only to England as an exporter to South America.

In a previous article in the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*,¹ the trade of the United States of America with the

¹ See II. no. 1 (February, 1919), pp. 26-54.

River Plate port was traced to the year 1808, when, as a result of the renewed restrictions placed in force by the Spanish authorities after the expulsion of the English from Buenos Aires, and the embargo which the United States Government placed on its own vessels, it considerably declined; and a diligent search in the New York *Evening Post* from January to July, 1809, only reveals two traces of United States vessels communicating with River Plate ports, namely, the ship *Hippomenes*, Captain Bickford, which cleared from Baltimore for Buenos Aires on March 17, 1809, and a ship called the *Charlotte*, Captain Myrick, which was at Cadiz on or about February 2, 1809, "to sail for Buenos Ayres next day". Possibly inspired by a statement in the issue of the New York *Evening Post* for January 10, 1809, which quoted a letter from London, dated October 7, 1808, to the effect that "Those fortunate adventurers, who sent out cargoes of Dry Goods to the Brazils, have returned with Rice and Cotton, and cleared upwards of 100 per cent profit", four United States vessels were at Pernambuco on August 1, 1809, while Lebbeus Loomis at 45 William Street advertised 62,000 pounds of Brazilian coffee for sale on September 29, 1809. At least seven other United States vessels went to Brazil in 1809, no less a person than General Derby of Salem proceeding thither on the ship *Mount Hope*, of 700 tons. But the River Plate countries were never lost sight of, as may be judged from the following extracts from contemporary newspapers.

The New York *Evening Post*, of July 8, 1809, says:

From Bells Weekly Messenger.—REVOLUTION AT BUENOS AYRES.—We have long suspected that Liniers was exerting himself to the utmost in favour of the family of Bonaparte, and we now learn, by letters from Rio Janeiro, of the late date of Feb. 6, that a revolution took place on the 1st of January, in which Liniers triumphed, and is now completely master as Viceroy of the City. It seems that the marriage of his daughter with a young man of the name of Perichon, which was contrary to law, disgusted the people generally who were besides very anxious to elect a Junta, in imitation of Seville &c. The Cabildo met, and the usual elections took place on the first of January; after which previous dispositions having been made by

arming, &c., on both sides, to decide the matter by force in case of necessity, a negociation took place between the Cabildo and Liniers, regarding his laying down the sovereign authority. At length the heads of that body went to the Fueste to treat personally with the Viceroy, when up went the draw bridge, and they were quickly marched through the Puerto del Socorro to the water side, put on board a schr and have been sent off nobody knows where; but it is supposed that the voyage was not a very long one, since it is known there were very few provisions on board. The names of those who thus put themselves into the trap are—Alzaga, Villanueva, Sta. Colom and another. As a proof that this revolution is altogether in favour of France, we need only state that the above mentioned Perichon is a Frenchman by birth, and is the person who was charged by Liniers with despatches for Bonaparte giving an account of his defence at Buenos Ayres against the British under Gen. Whitlocke, and was on his return from France, thro' Spain on his way back to South America, in May or June of last year (1808) apprehended in Andalusia, by order of the Junta of Seville, and confined in Cadiz, whence it would appear he effected his escape.

The event which has thus taken place, though unfortunate for the patriotic cause of Spain, has removed every difficulty which obstructed the course of operations that it might behove the government of this country to pursue, in concert with the prince of the Brazils. Monte Viedo still holds out against Liniers, and must be prevented from falling under his authority or the whole of Spanish America may be lost.

It is to be apprehended that the French squadron which sailed some time since from L'Orient, may have proceed[ed] to the Rio de la Plata.

An "Extract of a Letter, dated Rio de Janeiro, August 3, 1809", which is printed in the Monday, October 2, 1809, issue of the New York *Evening Post*, also refers to Liniers. It reads as follows:

A Spanish vessel has just arrived here in 14 days from Buenos Ayres with information that the new Spanish Viceroy had arrived there from Spain, and a Governor at Monte Video; that on the 13th ult. Liniers gave up the government quietly; and had retired with an annuity, and the rank of Field Marshal, in consideration of past services. Senor Elio, late Governor of Monte Video, gave up at the same time. No English or neutral vessels will be allowed to enter the river without a

special licence from the Spanish Junta, or the Government of Buenos Ayres; which may generally be established here.

In the same periodical for August 19, 1809, however, "London dates to July 5" stated that "Linniers in South America has declared in favour Ferdinand VII".

There is an interesting allusion to the United States and Buenos Aires in the New York *Evening Post* for May 22, 1809:

The brig *Eliza* of Providence is lost on the Figuee Islands; and Captain Corry took passage in the *Jenny*, (Capt. Daw of Boston,) which put into some Spanish settlement on her passage to Canton; the inhabitants discovered that Captain Corey was the person that piloted the British fleet into Buenos Ayres—he was taken out and was to be sent to Manila for trial.

When the United States merchant brig *Venus*, of 175 tons burden, Captain Tunison, arrived at Salem, Massachusetts, on Wednesday, August 22, 1810, after a sixty-two days' voyage from Buenos Aires, her supercargo, Mr. Nathan Cook, hastened to give to the public the first account of the events of May, 1810, in that city, which had been received in the United States. The reprinting of this account in a number of contemporary United States newspapers is a striking illustration of the general interest then taken in South American affairs. The account in the *Salem Gazette* of Nathan Cook's experiences in its issue of August 24, 1810, was reprinted verbatim in the *Columbian Centinel* of Boston, for August 25, 1810, and by the *Philadelphia American Daily Advertiser*, for August 28, 1810. The New York *Evening Post* published a short summary of it in its issue for August 27, 1810; and it is an interesting coincidence that it was on August 28, 1810, that the Secretary of State of the United States of America instructed Joel Roberts Poinsett to start for Buenos Ayres on his fruitful South American mission. Nathan Cook's narrative, which must have been read by thousands of persons in the seaport cities of the United States, was as follows:

REVOLUTION AT BUENOS AYRES²

On Wednesday last, arrived at Salem (Mass.) the brig *Venus*, Capt. Tunison, from Buenos Ayres. Mr. Nathan Cook, the supercargo, informs us, that a revolution had taken place there, similar to that in Caraccas; the authorities emanating from the Supreme Junta of Old Spain had been put down, and a new provisional government set up, with professed loyalty to Ferdinand VII, and to continue only till his restoration to his throne, but actually, no doubt, with a view to complete and permanent independence. Mr. Cook was in confidential relations with some of the leaders, who informed him, that they contemplated a government as nearly like that of the United States as the genius and habits of the people would admit of, but were aware that those were not such as to enable them to enjoy the same degree of political freedom with us. Thus, while the ambition of Bonaparte is overturning the old establishments, and shutting up the usual channels of commerce in Europe, new states are arising, and new paths to commerce opening, in the western world.

Mr. Cook has favored us with minutes he made of the revolutionary event while he was at Buenos Ayres, from which we have taken the following extracts:

"On Tuesday morning the 15th of May, the long expected explosion burst forth. A deputation from the several military commandants waited on the Viceroy, and demanded categorically his intensions, in the event of a confirmation of the intelligence from Europe, by a vessel just arrived at Monte Video, announcing the actual removal of the old supreme Junta, the appointment of a provisional one, the successes of the French, and their approach towards Cadiz, and the preparatory arrangements to remove the seat of government to the island of Leon. Two hours were given for a reply. However, there was nothing decisive till Saturday the 19th, when the post from Monte Video brought a confirmation of the above particulars. A second deputation then waited on the Viceroy, and demanded an immediate and public declaration of his intentions; which he promised to make. Sunday morning the Cabildo notified the Viceroy that it was indispensable that he should resign his command, as the authority from which it proceeded no longer existed, and that he must send the staff of office to them in session. In the interim he issued a proclamation to the people of the viceroyalty; on which he took a cursory view of the

² Taken from the *American Daily Advertiser*, August 28, 1810.

disastrous events in Spain, and the efforts making to restore confidence, &c., &c. This address did not satisfy the people, as it left on their minds the impression, that he would maintain his authority as long as he could. Several of the commandants entered the palace in the evening at 9 o'clock, and demanded a resignation then, or a promise of it in the morning—hinting in very plain terms, that his refusal would occasion an immediate recurrence to force. He finally consented to surrender his authority at 11 o'clock the ensuing day. Patrols paraded the streets and the troops were all under arms in the barracks during the night.

On Monday, the inhabitants were in anxious suspense—the military and partizans of the revolution were all in motion—and the troops to the number of 8000, as it was said were under arms. The alarm beat in the morning—the hats of the patriots were decorated with the portrait of Ferdinand VII, under which, and to the button hole of the coat, was tied a white ribbon, signifying, as they said, union among themselves, and fidelity to Ferdinand in the event of his restoration to the throne. At 1 o'clock a number of persons attended in the square, and after some difficulty on the part of the Viceroy, he made his resignation.

The Cabildo summoned a meeting of 500 for the next day, the 22d. It took place at 10 in the evening, at the Curial (none being admitted into the square but the persons who had been summoned to the meeting and who had been furnished with tickets). The debates ran high on the subject of deposing the Viceroy until correct information should be received of the fate of Spain. The principal opponent of the new order of things was the Bishop. He was answered by a Dr. Castillos, a leading character in the revolution, a native lawyer, possessed of considerable talents, and a daring intrepidity of spirit. Repeated plaudits announced the favorable reception his sentiments met with, and the impression his oratory had made. He concluded a speech replete with eloquence, and with such strength of argument in favor of the change of government, as astonished the audience (which chiefly consisted of Old Spaniards, who had been almost to a man previous opposed to any change that would place the power in the hands of the people) and induced a vote for deposing the Viceroy, 169 to 55.

Another meeting, on the 23d, was held, in order to confirm by signature the vote of the preceding day. Proclamation was made, that the Cabildo would exercise the powers of the Viceroy, and proceed to the choice of a provisional Junta, until delegates from the interior provinces could meet, with whom they would form a permanent government.

The 24th, the Cabildo issued a proclamation, announcing the deposing of the Viceroy. They assembled again at 4 P.M.—the guns announced the appointment of a Junta, and the Mayor proclaimed the names of those of whom it was composed, viz., the late Viceroy as President, and six others. Immediate discontent was manifested, principally on account of the Viceroy's having any share in the government; and the result was, that a new election was made on the 25th, and the Viceroy was excluded. Provision was immediately made for sending deputations to the interior, to invite delegates from the Cabildos of the Provinces, and to treat with them respecting a proper form of government.

On the 26th a proclamation was issued in the name of the provisional Junta of the capital of the River Plate. The commandants and officers waited on them, and swore allegiance in the name of Ferdinand VII.

On the 27th, at 3 P.M., the troops assembled in front of the Curial, formed a hollow square, and were addressed by the President of the Junta (their commander) and the Bishop bestowed his benediction on the people. The President's address was answered by the troops with repeated shouts, and a salute from artillery and musketry; the people showed every mark of joy.

On the 30th, divine service was performed at the cathedral by order of the Junta; the Bishop officiated; and a political discourse was delivered by one of the Priests. Splendid illuminations took place in the evening.

Notwithstanding the apparent tranquility, there was still a dissatisfied party at Buenos Ayres.

Monte Video was wavering as to a concurrence with Buenos Ayres, as a report was spread, that Spain was not so far conquered as was represented.

A summary of the above report was published the day before in the New York *Evening Post* in its issue for Monday, August 27, 1810: headed in italics, "REVOLUTION IN BUENOS AYRES."

By an arrival at Salem, the following interesting account is received, from Buenos Ayres. It comes through the usual channel—the Exchange Coffee House Books:

"The inhabitants of Buenos Ayres had, like those of the Carraccas, assumed an independent station, deposed the Vice King acting under

the commission of the Supreme Junta of Old Spain (whose authority was considered annihilated by the success of the French), formed a provisional government of their own, till Ferdinand should be restored, and send Deputies throughout the Province to solicit a co-operation. The loyalty to Ferdinand VII was professed, but an absolute and perpetual independence of Old Spain was understood to be the real design among the leaders. Everything was conducted without violence, and a vast majority was in favour of this step."

It took place in May.

The *Venus* was by no means the first United States merchant vessel to arrive in Buenos Aires in 1810. Although there were only two United States vessels at that port on October 15, 1809,³—the *Thomas Wilson* of Baltimore and the *George and Mary* of Providence, Rhode Island—their numbers gradually increased, now that the Jeffersonian embargo, which had lasted from December 22, 1807, to March 15, 1809, was at last abolished. At various times during the year 1810 at least twenty United States merchant vessels came to Buenos Aires—more than in any year since 1807. They were from Salem, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk—six states in all being represented. It is interesting to note in this connection that, so far as can be ascertained, there were fully as many United States vessels as British ones in the River Plate in 1810. On July 30, 1810,

there were sixteen English merchantmen at Buenos Ayres. Some of them had been there twelve, and two of them twenty, months. There was only one English ship loading at Monte Video, and one arrived the day the *Laura* sailed (August 4, 1810). An English transport was loading with bread for the English ships of war at Rio Janeiro. Since the change of government in Buenos Ayres, three English ships, with valuable cargoes, have been seized for attempting to smuggle; one of them has been condemned.⁴

The following United States vessels are known to have been at Buenos Aires during the year 1810:

³ *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, January 10, 1810.

⁴ *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, October 19, 1810.

1. The *Apollo*, Captain William Bragg, of Boston, was at Buenos Aires March 21, 1810, from the Cape of Good Hope (ADA,⁵ June 22, 1810); she arrived at Montevideo from Buenos Aires March 23, 1810 (*Archivo de Belgrano*, II. 30). She was at Havana, October 15, 1810 (*Columbian Centinel*, November 17, 1810).
2. The schooner *Atlantic*, from Vienna, Maine (then in Massachusetts), was at Buenos Aires from Rio, June 19, 1810 (*Salem Gazette*, August 24, 1810). Query: is this the *Atlantic*, Captain Travers, of Philadelphia, which is mentioned in the ADA, for August 31, 1810, as having arrived at Rio de Janeiro from Buenos Aires?
3. The ship *Eagle*, of New York, was at Buenos Aires loading for New York, on October 12, 1810 (ADA, December 27, 1810). She was still there November 16, 1810, "for Philadelphia" (*Columbian Centinel*, January 30, 1811). She arrived at Philadelphia, March 16, 1811 (ADA, March 16, 1811).
4. The brig *Favorite*, Captain Williams, was at Buenos Aires on October 12, 1810, to leave for Philadelphia in 30 days (ADA, December 27, 1810). She was still there December 4, 1810 (ADA, March 16, 1811).
5. The ship *Dispatch*, Captain Smith, of Boston, from London (ADA, October 19, 1810).
6. The brig *Experiment*, Captain Williams, of Philadelphia, was at Buenos Aires, December 20, 1810 (ADA, February 23, 1811).
7. The ship *Fame*, Captain Timothy Gardener, arrived at Buenos Aires August 15, 1810, from Baltimore (see Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, 2nd Ed., p. 65; see also *Documentos del Archivo de Belgrano*, Buenos Aires, 1913, Vol. II.). She was still there November 16, 1810 (*Columbian Centinel*, January 30, 1811), arriving at Baltimore, February 16, 1811.
8. The *George and Mary*, Captain Bucklin, of Providence, Rhode Island, arrived at Buenos Aires June 20, 1810 (*Documentos de Belgrano*, II. 205), was still there July 30, 1810 (ADA, October 19, 1810), and sailed from Buenos Aires for Providence, September 6, 1810 (*Documentos de Belgrano*, II. 334). She arrived at Providence, December 21, 1810, in 97 days from Buenos Aires with hides (*Columbian Centinel*, December 29, 1810).
9. The ship *Jane*, Captain Murdock, of Norfolk, was at Buenos Aires from London, England (ADA, October 19, 1810); she was still there on October 12, 1810 (ADA, December 27, 1810).

⁵ That is, *The American Daily Advertiser*.

10. The schooner *Julia*, of Philadelphia, belonging to Mr. Reiley, Mr. Miller, Supercargo. At Buenos Aires from Rio de Janeiro, (ADA, October 19, 1810.) (Query: Can this be William Gilchrist Miller, of Philadelphia, appointed United States Vice Consul at Buenos Aires, November 15, 1811?).
11. The *Latona*, "for Baltimore," was at Buenos Aires November 16, 1810 (*Columbian Centinel*, January 30, 1811).
12. The *Laura*, Captain William Davis, was in Buenos Aires May 5, 1810 (*Documentos de Belgrano*, p. 113), also on July 7, 1810 (*Documentos de Belgrano*, p. 230). She arrived at Boston from Montevideo October 13, 1810, having left Montevideo August 4, 1810 (ADA, October 19, 1810).
13. The ship *Margaret*, Captain Bourge, of New York, for Liverpool, was at Buenos Aires, October 12, 1810 (ADA, December 27, 1810).
14. The ship *Pactolus*, Captain Beckford, of Salem, was at Buenos Aires, Oct. 12, 1810 (ADA, December 27, 1810).
15. The *Passenger*, of Baltimore, arrived at Buenos Aires, January 4, 1810 (*Documentos de Belgrano*, p. 64); she arrived at Baltimore in 89 days from Buenos Aires, on June 23, 1810 (ADA, June 22, 1810); see also ADA, June 14, 1810. (Note that the *Passenger*, Captain Baker, arrived at New York from Rio de Janeiro, October 9, 1810 (ADA, October 11, 1810); it could hardly have been the same vessel.
16. The ship *Roda and Betsy*, Captain Baldry, of Norfolk, Va., from London to return there, was at Buenos Aires, October 12, 1810 (ADA, December 27, 1810).
17. The frigate *Thomas Wilson*, was at Buenos Aires early in March or late in February, 1810, where she took on 25,000 hides; she sailed from Montevideo for London, March 11, 1810 (*Documentos de Belgrano*, II. 33).
18. The *Valentine*, Captain Benjamin Chase, arrived at Buenos Aires from New York, on August 14, 1810 (see Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, 2nd Ed., p. 65; *Documentos de Belgrano*, II.).
19. The brig *Venus*, Captain Tunison, of Salem, arrived at Buenos Aires April 21, 1810 (*Documentos de Belgrano*, II. 97) sailing thence for Salem, on June 19, 1810 (*ibid*, p. 206), arriving at Salem, on August 22, 1810 (ADA, Aug. 28, 1810; *Salem Gazette*, Friday, Aug. 24, 1810). Her supercargo, Mr. Nathan Cook, brought the first account of the events of May 25, 1810, in Buenos Aires, to the United States.

20. The frigate *Voltaire*, belonging to Stephen Girard of Philadelphia, sailed from Philadelphia, on January 8, 1810, and arrived at Buenos Aires, on March 17, 1810, having left Montevideo on March 14, 1810 (*Documentos del Archivo de Belgrano*, II. 41). She was there on March 21, 1810 (ADA, June 22, 1810), and on June 19, 1810, also (*Salem Gazette*, August 24, 1810), as well as on November 16, 1810 (*Columbian Centinel*, January 30, 1811).

Three other United States vessels are known to have had some dealings with Buenos Aires and the River Plate in 1810: the brig *Nancy*, Captain Wilson, from Baltimore, which apparently arrived off Buenos Aires early in November, 1810, but which "went on shore when passing from the outer to the inner harbour, was lost, crew saved" (*Columbian Centinel*, January 30, 1811; ADA, February 20 and 23, 1811); the ship *Pearl*, Captain Smith, which cleared from Boston to Buenos Aires on October 15, 1810 (*Columbian Centinel*, October 17, 1810), and the brig *Pizarro*, which sailed from Lisbon at some unknown date shortly before October 6, 1810, for "River Plate" (*Columbian Centinel*, November 7, 1810).

In addition to these vessels at Buenos Aires, there were at least ten others from the United States at Montevideo in 1810: six brigs—the *Deborah and Jane*, the *Narcissa* and the *Walter* of Philadelphia, the *Hipomenes* of Baltimore, the *Ospray* of New York, and the *George* of New Bedford; and four ships—the *Felix* of New York, the *Roby and Betsey* of Norfolk, and the *Resolution* and the *Hazard* of Boston. There were thus at least 30 United States vessels in the River Plate in 1810, as compared with the 10 that were there in 1799, the 43 in 1801–1802, and the 42 in 1806–1807, making a total of 125 in all that had been there before United States Consul-General Joel Roberts Poinsett made his first official visit to the Junta of Buenos Aires on the day of his arrival there, February 13, 1811. On the same day he made his first official report to the United States State Department. The thirteen years' commercial relations between the River Plate countries and the United States had developed into a new and closer phase, that of diplomacy, which has ever since happily continued unbroken.

The following extracts from contemporary United States newspapers show how closely they followed the rapidly-developing course of events in the former Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata.

A selection from the New York *Evening Post* of September 8, 1810, is as follows:

July 21. We regret to state, that the impolitic regulations of the South American Government almost go to the length of excluding British commerce from their harbours. The following letter from Buenos Ayres affords a gloomy prospect of what may be expected from that quarter, under the present arrangements:

"Buenos Ayres, April 4.

"I am sorry to inform you, that the little business which there is any opportunity of transacting here, must be done at a very considerable loss. Everything is in the most unpromising state; and I assure you, that if the cargo I brought out here had been burnt in London, or thrown into the Thames, instead of being shipped for this place, we should have saved money upon the whole—so enormous is the loss on the goods, and the expences of the voyage, &c. Pieces of Manchester goods, which originally cost 2 l. 16 s., after deducting the duties, have not produced more at an average than 13 s. This calculation is exclusive of all expences, and the total loss may be estimated at 120 per cent.

"We have all been greatly misled with respect to the amount of the Spanish duties; it appears to me that pains have been taken by interested persons to conceal or misrepresent the state of the Revenue laws, until the goods were landed, and subject to their operation. Most of the goods brought here have been sold upon a calculation that the duties would not exceed 40 per cent; but when all the demands were made, they were found to exceed 100 per cent on some articles.

"The party differences here are very violent; and few nights pass without some assassinations taking place in the streets. The persons in power send out of the country or imprizon those whose sentiments they suspect, and some of our countrymen have been ordered away in consequence of talking freely on politics. Englishmen are allowed to wear arms, but this privilege is denied to the natives, at which they are very much dissatisfied. The regular troops are also very discontented. They have received no pay for six months and are become very clamorous for it."

An extract from the same paper for Saturday, October 20, 1810, follows:

From River Plate. Boston, Oct. 13. Our intelligence from the River of Plate, into the month of August, is minute and authentic. The revolution at Buenos Ayres, in favour of the native American party, and the absolute independence of the Viceroyalty, which began on the 20th May, by depriving the Vice King (Cisneros, under the Junta of Seville) of his command, was completed on the 22d June, when he together with the late Governor of Monteveido, (Riodobri) who had been residing at Buenos Ayres, in consequence of the unpopularity of his conduct, was arrested, put on board a cutter, and sent to Spain. The Native junta of Buenos Ayres had prudently adopted the measure of lowering the high rate of duties; by the removal of all offices of uncertain zeal, the appointment of undoubted partizans, and generally by carrying their regulations into rigorous effect. All the old European officers have been deprived of their firearms and swords, and dispossessed of their offices. An expedition of 1500, had been sent into the interior of the country, for the purpose, as was generally supposed, of assisting the revolutionists of Chili in affecting a change of government. A commissioner has been sent from the capital of the river of Plate, to the court of St. James' with an account of the change, for the purpose of forming a commercial arrangement.

At Monte Video, on the other hand, these changes of revolution were opposed by the municipal authority—which has the whole control in the absence of the Governor of the navy and royal arsenals, though the power of this city is considered subservient to that of Buenos Ayres, the Gov. of which takes the title of vice king of the province. The great number of European Spaniards in the city of Monte Video is considered the only chief obstacle to the revolution there—and an arbitrary system of espionage, is continually operating, which awes the native Spaniards into silence and submission. Negotiations had been opened in June between the two cities, but without effecting any arrangement or accomodation. Soon after the revolution in Buenos Ayres had been effected, an opportunity was offered, which had it been improved might have enabled the inhabitants of Monte Video to have completed the revolution of the province. Col. Morianda, who commanded the citadel, was interested in the American party he was threatened by a party of Marines, who beseiged him, and summoned him to surrender as a traitor to his country. Had he acted

with promptitude upon these summons he might have seized the government house; been joined by the militia and declared himself a dictator. But failing in courage as well as judgment, he suffered himself to be decoyed from his regiment, was seized, and together with some other officers imprisoned—and afterwards secretly despatched to Rio Janeiro.

A skirmish had taken place at Colony in taking possession of a fort, in which the Monte Videans were defeated by the troops from Buenos Ayres with the loss of 8 killed and many wounded.

Frenchmen in both places were in confinement. Liniers was at Cordova.

In connection with this last statement, it is interesting to note that the *Salem Gazette* of August 3, 1810, states that:

We learn from Porto-Rico, that it was the intention of the Spanish Government there to send off the French inhabitants, as had been done in Cuba. Many were preparing for their departure. Almost every Frenchman in Spain or the Colonies is a spy or an intriguer of Bonaparte.

In the October 17, 1810, issue of the *Boston Columbian Centinel*, the relations between Spain and South America were commented on as follows:

We learn, from a correct source, that the revolutions in *Buenos Aires* have terminated in the establishment and organization of a native Junta or Congress, which has declared the province capable of self-government and considering Old Spain as in a state of dependence, have dissolved all political relations with her. Deputies had been sent to other provinces to invite the formation of a *General League* on self-governing principles. All the old Spanish officers, and indeed all foreigners, had been banished; and war had been decided, and hostilities had been commenced, against Montevideo, which remained faithful to the Regency. Negotiation on the subject was carried on between the two cities but without effect, Colonel Merianda who commanded the citadel at Monte Video expressing sentiments in favor of the American Independents, was besieged by the Royalists, taken, and with some other officers, sent to *Rio Janeiro*. A skirmish had taken place at *Colonia* between the Buenosayreans and Montevideans, in which the latter were worsted with the loss of a few men—All the French were imprisoned, and LENIERS, the former Viceroy was at Cordoba.

And on October 20, the same paper continued:

To the particulars given in our last, of the Revolution in *Buenos Ayres*, we add, that the one in favor of *independence* and Self-Government, was organized on the 22nd of June; when Cisneros, the Vice King appointed by the *Junta of Seville*, and other Spanish officers, were arrested, and sent to *Spain*. None but native Americans were allowed to hold offices, or fire arms; and an expedition, 1500 strong, had been sent into the interior to subdue the soil and plant the seeds of independence. A Commissioner had been sent to *England* to negotiate a commercial agreement; in the mean time the heavy duties were lowered.

Monte Video refused to rally under the revolutionary standard of *Buenos Ayres*; occasioned, it was supposed, by the influence of the many European Spaniards who reside there; and who acknowledge Ferdinand for their King.

And on January 9, 1811, it published a notice on the Revolution as follows:

South America.—From Buenos Ayres, Sept. 6, 1810.—Liniers, with about 400 men, having raised his standard at Cordova, in opposition to the Revolutionary Government, was assailed by 1200 of the Independents, who on their approach were joined by Liniers' troops. He, of course, was made prisoner, as were Concha, the Governor of Cordoba, Allende, a Colonel, a Judge, and another of the party. As soon as the Junta received information of their capture, they decreed their death, which was executed by Castille, one of the Junta, and 50 men, in four hours after his arrival at Cordova. The whole five were shot. The interior of the country is quiet, and the violent energy exhibited by the Junta must destroy all opposition.

The *Philadelphia American Daily Advertiser* said in its issue of February 20, 1811:

At the time the *Fame* sailed, (on December 20, 1810, from Buenos Aires) the port of Buenos Ayres was blockaded by the Montevidean squadron, consisting of two corvettes, three brigs, one schooner, and one felucca. Admiral de Courcey commanding the British squadron on the Brazil station, had insisted on raising the blockade as respected English vessels. The squadron gave way, at the same time the govern-

ment of Montevideo protested against the conduct of the British Admiral—a certain number of days had been allowed to the neutral vessels at Buenos Ayres to complete their business, at the expiration of which, it was expected, they would be obliged to depart. The Junta at Buenos Ayres were employed in fitting some small armed vessels, and in recruiting an army, in which they succeeded rapidly—the whole interior of South America was said to be joining in their cause; Chili had formed a junta, the province of Cocha Bamba, one of the most populous and rich of South America, had deposed their Governor, and taken part with the people of Buenos Ayres.

Further notices published on February 23, in the same paper, were as follows:

The *Fame*, of Baltimore, which left Buenos Aires about November 20, 1810, reported on her arrival that "H.B.M. Schooner *Mistletoe*, Lieut. Ramsay, on entering the harbour of Buenos Ayres, fired into the American vessels, and forced them to hoist their colours.⁶ The Junta of Buenos Ayres was active in enlisting an army, and arming some small vessels, and little doubt was entertained of their ultimate success, as the different provinces of South America were daily joining their cause.

And on March 2, that paper contained the following news:

Boston, Tuesday, February 26, 1811. From South America.—We have been favoured with Buenos Ayres papers to the 17th of Nov. (1810). The people of that place and vicinity have embarked on the "tempestuous sea of liberty," but are resisted by the inhabitants of Monte Video, and many places in the interior. The revolutionary spirit has shown itself in most of the Spanish colonies. The following paragraphs are extracted from the papers.

Buenos Ayres, Nov. 17.

Lima is in fermentation, & the Viceroy is full of fear. Santa Fe, Caracas, Cartagena, Porto Bello, and Quito, have followed Buenos Ayres. Cochabamba offers us 20,000 men. Potosi detests its intendant, and the Council resists all his iniquitous plans.

⁶ See Carranza, *Campañas Navales de la República Argentina*. I. 45, regarding Ramsay and the *Mistletoe*.

The people of Salta have received with joy the representative of our Junta.

A letter from Gen. Balcarce, dated Mohara, Oct. 29, relates the particulars of an attack he had made on the 27th on Catagaita, which lasted from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., when he thought it most proper to desist and retreat for reinforcements.

The Provisional Junta has dissolved the Junta of Commission, which had the control of the Army; and have appointed Colonel Antonia Balcarce, General in Chief; Col. Juan Jose Viamont, second in command; and Lieut. Col. Jose Eustaquio Diaz Veles, third in rank; all however dependent on Signior Don Juan Jose Castelli.

New troops are raising and articles collecting for their equipment. Valuable donations are daily received from the inhabitants.

In consequence of the inconveniences experienced by the blockade of Buenos Ayres; by the Marine of Monte Video, the government have ordered the mountains to be planted with seed and cultivated.

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

THE POST-WAR ATTITUDE OF HISPANIC AMERICA TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

The undercurrent of distrust and antipathy for the United States that has been prevalent in most of the republics of Hispanic America for the past half-century has seemed so deeply ingrained in the psychology of the southern peoples that many well-informed persons in this country have felt at times that it was almost useless to attempt to remove it. Indeed, there have been certain individuals intimately acquainted with Hispanic America who have argued that we should desist from our efforts to foster a spirit of intimate friendship with South and Central America, and adopt that attitude of supreme indifference as to what others may think of us that is characteristic of one of the great European powers. They would place our intercourse with Hispanic America on a purely commercial basis, unsoftened by the attributes of personal amity.

This ever-latent and sometimes openly-manifested antagonism directed against the oldest of the republics in the western hemisphere by those of more recent origin has obviously constituted the real obstacle to the attainment of the elusive ideal of true Pan Americanism. However courteous and mellifluous the public utterances of diplomatic representatives both in the north and in the south, however sanguine and encouraging the official statements of the various organizations designed to promote inter-American unity, those who know Hispanic America at first hand have realized how widespread has been the distrust that has been entertained as to the ultimate aims of the United States in these two continents. It is consequently most gratifying, to all who are interested in the growth of a spirit of sincere cordiality and friendship, to note any symptoms of a departure from the traditional attitude of Hispanic America toward the United States.

Much has been written and published during recent months in regard to a radical change in Hispanic American sentiment toward the United States. Magazines and newspapers have contained frequent articles on this subject, and returning travelers from the south have told of the more favorable attitude that has been observed. Hispanic American writers have also commented on the new spirit that has arisen. The general impression has thus been created that the old distrust has given way to a feeling of admiration for the unselfish part that North America has played in the war; that the inhabitants of the southern republics believe that the "Yanquis" have redeemed themselves through the purge of fire and blood. Gratifying as these statements may be to our national *amour propre*, we should be careful of accepting them with too much complacency. It behooves us, rather, to examine more closely into the facts of the case, so that we may determine, if possible, to what extent this much-heralded transformation has actually taken place.

The causes for the dislike of Hispanic Americans for the United States have often been set forth. Apart from the natural antagonism between two peoples of different cultures and the imperialistic trend of our past history as a nation, this antipathy may be ascribed chiefly to the long-continued propaganda that has been carried on by some of the most noted writers of the southern republics. It has not been the cheap sensationalist and "yellow" journalist alone who has been instrumental in spreading this feeling of hostility and suspicion, but the great literary masters, those men who stand forth as the apostles of Pan Hispanism as opposed to Pan Americanism, have also lent their influence in strengthening the natural bias that has been the heritage of the Latin- and English- speaking races in the Americas. Such figures as José Enrique Rodó, Eugenio María de Hostos, José Martí, Francisco García Calderón, Rufino Blanco Fombona, Manuel Ugarte, and Carlos Pereyra, to name only a few of the most prominent, may be considered as the perpetuators of what has been known as the traditional Hispanic American attitude toward the United States. Some of these men have been sincere in their conviction that the great

republic of the north was the inevitable Nemesis of the younger states that have developed from the areas conquered and colonized by the Iberian nations. Others have been swayed by personal animosity, but their teachings have not been less potent because based on less noble sentiments.

It will be illuminating, perhaps, in this connection to examine briefly two distinct types of anti-American propaganda contained in the literary productions of some of the writers that have been mentioned. One is the dignified, restrained, and philosophical treatise; the other is the violent and often unreasoning diatribe which unfortunately usually makes a ready appeal to its readers.

There is one small book which has perhaps done more to give dignity and a philosophical justification to the anti-American sentiment in Hispanic America than all the rest of their literature combined. This is José Enrique Rodó's *Ariel*. Rodó warns against fatuous imitation of the United States. While he praises the contributions that have been made by the northern republic to modern civilization, it is clear that he believes that we are without a soul, and the real thesis of his book is that the United States is the Caliban that will eventually destroy Hispanic American idealism if care is not taken to counteract its influence. In concluding his remarks concerning us, he expresses the hope that "the spirit of that titanic social organism, which has thus far been characterized by will and utility alone, may some day be that of intelligence, sentiment, and idealism". (*Ariel*, Montevideo, 1900, pp. 98-135.)

Ariel is one of the great classics of the South, and has been called the "spiritual breviary" of the Hispanic American youth. The elegant style in which it is written has made its influence all the more insidious, although it is probable that its teachings have been exaggerated to a degree never intended by the gifted writer. Since the appearance of *Ariel*, however, it has been the fashion to expatiate on the utilitarian nature of North American civilization, and its lack of noble ideals.

The more radical type is represented by that prolific writer, Rufino Blanco Fombona. In one of his many books he launches into the following condemnation of the United States:

South America detests the United States because of its fraudulent elections, its commercial deceit, its ridiculous Colonel Roosevelt, its shirt-sleeve diplomacy, its University professors who write about Spanish America with extreme ignorance, its sinking of the *Maine*, the secession of Panama, its seizure of the finances of Honduras, its usurpation of the customs of Santo Domingo, the blood that it shed and the independence that it frustrated in Nicaragua, the revolutions which it fomented in Mexico, the invasion of Vera Cruz; its extravagant claims against Venezuela, the Alsop claim against Chile, its poorly concealed designs on the Galápagos Island of Ecuador and the Chichas Islands of Peru; its daily affirmation that Argentine statistics are unworthy of credence; its attempt to prevent the valorization of coffee in Brazil; the appropriation of Porto Rico; the Platt amendment to the constitution of Cuba; its conversion of its cables and newspapers into instruments of discredit for each of the Spanish American republics; its aggressive imperialism; its conduct toward Spanish America during the past half-century.¹

Many similar passages might be cited from other authors, but these two are sufficient to show the nature of the popular sources from which Hispanic Americans have derived many of their ideas concerning the United States. Such bitter statements are due mainly to lack of acquaintance with this country, that same cause that has been responsible for most of the distorted notions that have been entertained here in regard to Hispanic America. Since the literature of the southern republics is saturated with these doctrines, offset to a slight degree by those rare individuals like Sarmiento who took the opposite position, there is little wonder that a spirit of aloofness and even of positive dislike has been created.

With these facts in mind one is in a better position to estimate the nature and extent of the alleged change that has been reported in Hispanic American sentiment toward this country, and to analyze the present situation. It may confidently be stated at the offset that most of the stories that have been circulated to the effect that Hispanic America has had a radical change of mind and heart are highly overdrawn, and must be

¹ Blanco Fombona, *Los Grandes Escritores de América*, p. 86.

discounted to a considerable extent. The former attitude that has been years in crystalizing, which has been justified in their opinion by long experience, cannot be suddenly revolutionized by events covering only a brief space of time.

There can be little doubt, however, that our participation in the World War placed us in the most favorable light in the eyes of Hispanic America that we have occupied since the early days of Hispanic American independence, when the United States was regarded as the friend and champion of all rebellious commonwealths that were striving to achieve separate nationality. Doubt and skepticism at the beginning, as to the disinterestedness of our motives, gave way to mystification and wonder at the quixotic simplicity that seemed to characterize us. While many doubting Thomases are still awaiting the moment when our hidden designs will be revealed, the majority of the thinking element of Hispanic Americans have begun to admit the possibility of the fallacy of the old opinions that were held concerning us. It is doubtful whether many have gone further than this. So strongly implanted are the old ideas that their relinquishment must necessarily be very gradual, and even in the most favorably inclined there inevitably remains a residue of doubts, light though it may be in some cases, from which they can not wholly escape.

This state of mind is well illustrated by a recent article from the pen of a brilliant Venezuelan writer. It constitutes one of the most frankly favorable pleas in behalf of the United States that has appeared in the press of Hispanic America. And yet, so uncertain is the writer as to the irrevocable truth of his own statements that the old attitude is unconsciously reflected in the very arguments that he employs to convince his readers of the absurdity of their fears in regard to the ulterior designs of the United States toward South and Central America.

A few quotations will suffice to illustrate:

Can Washington, after its solemn promise and disinterested testimony, trample upon weak nations in any part of the world? Is not, on the contrary, its attitude in the universal war a sure pledge that it

will aid with counsel and assist with its support all the peoples of America that manifest a will to elevate themselves to the benevolence and admiration of the world?

If the American statesmen deliberate a little regarding their relations with the south—and they have already deliberated, assuredly—they will understand that destiny offers them a role much more elevated and magnificent than that of conquerors; they can, and they ought to, be kindly educators. They themselves have seen that force, pure and simple, force without a basis of justice, is fragile and useless, and that every undertaking which lacks a generous human ideal leads to failure and ignominy.

It is inconceivable that a strong man should beat a cripple upon the public highway, unless we suppose him to be demented. It is likewise inconceivable that in the new righteousness a people lord over empires should dishonor itself by trampling upon unhappy and feeble nations.

The United States finds herself in a privileged position, that places upon her responsibilities of the greatest moment, and she is not going to lose the good name and the dignity she now enjoys by devoting herself to the brutish satisfaction of rapacious appetites.²

The foregoing article, written shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, is typical of the Hispanic American attitude when the stock of the United States was perhaps at its highest point. Certainly since that time our actions have not tended to strengthen the new feeling of confidence. In no part of the world will the failure to ratify the peace treaty have a more baneful effect than in Hispanic America. In addition, it must be remembered that an active propaganda is now being carried on in that region against the United States in connection with the struggle for trade supremacy that is now in progress. Our competitors are losing no opportunity to counteract the advantages that this country gained during the war. Hispanic America is still being told that we are planning to use our great war machine for future aggressions; that we are merely masking our hypocrisy beneath a shameful camouflage of idealism and self-sacrifice until the time comes when we are ready to continue on the path that "manifest destiny" has marked out for us. These influ-

² Jesus Semprum, in *Cultura Venezolana* (Translated in *Inter-America*, August, 1919, pp. 327-339).

ences are slowly but surely undermining the progress that has been made. There is still doubt and suspicion as to the sincerity of our widely proclaimed idealism.

Has there been then any definite change in Hispanic American attitude? In the writer's opinion, this question must be answered in the affirmative. The new attitude does not go so far, however, as we have been led to believe. It consists rather of a tendency to give us the benefit of the doubt. Whereas before Hispanic America was confident that it had gauged us correctly, now it is not so sure but that it might have been mistaken. Its attitude is therefore one of expectancy and of conciliation. The United States is on trial before these republics. They stand with outstretched hand to receive us as friends and associates, not in any inequitable alliance, but in one of impartial justice to all. They need our capital and they are expecting us to aid them in developing their resources. Never before has the United States been in greater need of a consistent Hispanic American policy than at the present day.

W. E. DUNN.

THE BILL OF FARE ON A SPANISH FLEET, 1770

The document appearing below was copied from a printed original in the Archivo de Indias, Seville, its pressmark being 154-7-16. The courses described bear considerable resemblance to those served in Spain today. This document should be considered with Dr. C. H. Haring's *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Hapsburgs*, where many instances are noted of the close surveillance given by the Spaniards in all manner of ways to their American fleets.

FANNY R. BANDELIER.

Los Capitanes, ó Personas comisionadas en las Embarcaciones, que se han flotado para el presente Transporte, deberán subministrar la Mesa à los Oficiales y sus Familias, que à cada una se repartiesen en la forma que se expresará; siendo de cuenta de los mismos Comisionados el costo de todas las Provisiones, y de los Avios, y Utensilios para la subministracion, y servicio de la Mesa.

Desayuno

Un Posillo de Chocolate, con Pan, ó Manteca, ó Queso a cada Individuo de los que tengan Mesa.

Comida

Una Sopa de Pan, y otra de Arroz, Fideos, ú otra especie de Mesa: ambas compuestas con el caldo de la Olla.

Una Olla, compuesta de Baca, ó Carnero, y Tocino, competente, y nada escasa para las personas de Mesa: de uno, dos, ó tres Chorizos, segun se considere necesario: y de las berzas, de Calabaza, Coles, Garbanzos, etc: arreglado á la proporcion de lo que se haya podido embarcar, y de la duracion del Viage.

Dos Principios: el uno de Carnero ó Ternera: y el otro de Ave, segun lo permita la proporcion del buque.

Otro Plato de Encurtidos, ó Escabeche, Anchoas, Ensalada, ú otro equivalente.

Ademas de los Platos que quedan prevenidos, se dará un extraordinario de Jamón, Salchichón, ó Masa, dos dias á la Semana, quando lo permita el tiempo.

Tres Platos de Postres, alternando diariamente las especies, que han de consistir en Aceytunas, Pasas, Almendras, Neuces, Avellanas, y Queso; y entre estas se comprenderá tres Veces á la Semana un Plato proporcionado de Dulee.

Cena

Una ensalada cruda, ó cocida, segun lo permita el tiempo.

Dos Platos, uno de Carne, y otro de Pescado, ó huevos, segun lo proporcionase el Viage, y el tiempo.

Dos Platos de Postres de las especies alternadas, que quedan prescriptas para la Comida.

Prevencion

Para la Comida, y Cena se subministrará, sin escasez, Vino bueno: tambien podrá darse para el Desayuno, á quien lo quiera, en lugar de Chocolate.

El Pan de que se habla arriba, deberá ser Vizcocho blanco, semejante al que se dá de Dieta en los Navíos del Rey.

Por si en algunos dias no permitiese el tiempo encender fuego, convendrá que los Comisionados tengan siempre á prevención algunos Jamones cocidos, con que suplir en la Mesa la falta de Platos calientes; y en estos casos deberán subministrar un proporcionado fiambre de Jamón, un Plato de Escabeche, ó Salchichón, una ensalada de Anchoas, ó Gazpacho, con Queso, y los Postres señalados.

Si sobrevinieren Enfermos, se les deberá dar Puchero, compuesto, para cada uno de un quarto de Gallina, una quarta de Carnero y Garvanzos: una Taza de Caldo ó Sopa, y Dulce de postre.

Supuesto que los Oficiales, sus familias, y demas Individuos de Mesa gozan el Privilegio de comer Carne en los dias de Vigilia, y Viernes del Año (á excepcion de los de Quaresma y Semana Santa) no estarán obligados los Comisionados á dar Comida de Pescado en aquellos dias, respecto de la dificultad que lo contrario ofreciera en la Mar: pero si todos (y no solo una parte) los Individuos de Mesa se conviniesen de comer de Abstinencia, previniendolo el dia antes, se sugetarán á la siguiente subministracion:

Un Potage de Garvanzos, Frixoles, ó Lentejas: un Plato de Bacalao, guisado, ó cocido, ó dos distintos en caso de no haber Escabeche, ó Salmón: un Plato de heuvos, que correspondan á dos ó tres por Persona. Y tres Platos de los Postres señalados.

DON JUAN ANTONIO ENRIQUEZ,
del Consejo de S: M.; su Secretario, y Comisario de Provincia de Marina.

Certifico, que la antecedente es Copia del Arreglo formado en consecuencia de Reales Ordenes por el Señor Don Juan Gerbaut, Intendente General de Marina; y para que conste¹ á los Capitanes de las 31 Embarcaciones flotadas por mi para el presente transporte á la America de los Regimientos de Infanteria de Savoya, Lomardia, Irlanda, Segundo de Cataluña, y dos Compañias de Artilleria, con quienes he ajustado la Mesa diaria de cada Oficial á Razón de Siete Reales de Plata, firmo la presente en Cadiz á 24 de Octubre de 1770.

DON JUAN ANTONIO ENRIQUEZ.

[TRANSLATION]

The captains or other persons commissioned therefor on the ships detailed for the present transport service must provide meals as follows to the officers and their families assigned to the different ships, all provisions, materials, and utensils for the purveying and service of the commissariat being at their expense.

Breakfast

One cup of chocolate, with bread, and butter or cheese, for each persons who has the right of the messroom.

Dinner

A bread-soup and another soup, made either of rice, vermicelli, or other paste—both soups to be prepared with broth or stock.

A stew, to consist of beef or mutton, and salt pork, well made and plenty for all those of the messroom; with one, two, or three pork sausages as may be considered necessary; and with pumpkins, cabbages, chickpeas, etc., prepared in proportion to the amount it has

¹ From this point the remainder of the document is written by hand.

been possible to stow aboard, paying due consideration to the length of the voyage.

Two main dishes, one of mutton or veal, and the other of fowl, such as it may have been possible to stow aboard.

Another course of pickled fish, anchovies, salad, or their equivalent.

In addition to the various courses above enumerated, an extra of ham, sausage, or some kind of paste shall be served twice per week whenever the weather permits.

Three different kinds of dessert, which shall be varied daily, consisting of olives, raisins, almonds, walnuts, hazelnuts, and cheese; and in addition an extra of sweetmeats shall be served three times per week.

Supper

A salad, either raw or boiled, as the weather may permit.

Two courses, one of meat, and the other of fish or eggs, according to the length of the voyage and the condition of the weather.

Two different kinds of dessert as above mentioned for the dinner, alternating the several kinds.

Notice

For dinner as well as for supper good wine shall be provided unsparingly, which may also be provided for breakfast to those preferring it to chocolate.

The bread mentioned above is to be white biscuit, similar to the kind prescribed in the provisions of the king's fleet.

In case the weather should become so bad on some days that fires can not be lighted aboard, it will be prudent for the commissaries to have ready at all times a supply of boiled ham with which they can replace the hot dishes. In such cases they shall provide one ample course of cold ham, one of pickled fish or sausage, a salad of anchovies or gaspacho,¹ together with cheese and the desserts above mentioned.

In cases of sickness, each patient shall be served a stew, one-fourth of which shall consist of chicken, and one-fourth of mutton and chick-peas, together with a cup of broth or soup; and for dessert some sweets.

¹ *Gaspacho*. This is an absolutely Spanish dish not even known in Spanish America. It consists of bread or crumbs prepared with oil, vinegar, onions and garlic. In the south of Spain especially they prepare it still more elaborately by adding fresh tomatoes, cucumbers and peppers cut in small pieces, after the bread has been thoroughly saturated by the oil and vinegar, mixed with it. It makes a very tasty and refreshing salad on hot days and it is eaten very often in the middle of the day as a refreshment.

In case the officers, their families, and the other persons who have the freedom of the messroom, enjoy the privilege of eating meat on fast days and Fridays during the year (with the exception of Lent and Holy Week), the commissaries shall not have to provide a fish dinner on such days, because of the difficulty in doing otherwise at sea. But in case all the persons (and not only a part of them) aboard should agree to abstain from meat and shall have given notice the day before, the following bill-of-fare shall be provided:

A soup made of chickpeas, beans, or lentils; one dish of codfish, either stewed or boiled, or the two different kinds in case there is no pickled fish or salmon available; one course of eggs, giving two or three eggs to each person; and three different desserts of the kinds above mentioned.

DON JUAN ANTONIO ENRIQUEZ,
Of His Majesty's Council, his
secretary, and commissary of the
Department of the Navy.

I hereby attest that the above is a copy of the instructions made by virtue of the royal orders by Don Juan Gerbaut, Intendant General of the Navy. In order that it may be regarded as a copy² by the captains of the 31 ships detailed by me for the present transportation to America of the infantry regiments Savoya [*i.e.*, Savoy], Lombardia [*i.e.*, Lombardy], Irlanda [*i.e.*, Ireland], Segundo de Cataluña [*i.e.*, the Second Catalanian], and the two artillery companies—with whom I have adjusted the price of the daily meals of each officer at seven reales in silver—I sign the present at Cadiz, October 24, 1770.

DON JUAN ANTONIO ENRIQUEZ.

² From this point the remainder of the document is written by hand.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mexico Today and Tomorrow. By E. D. TROWBRIDGE. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919. p. 282. \$2.00.)¹

This book is the most temperate in tone of those which have discussed recent events in Mexico. It has received numerous commendatory press notices for this quality. The author has traveled widely in the neighbor republic, and speaks from personal knowledge, reinforced by information and facilities afforded him by a number of the higher officials of the Mexican Government. It is not surprising, in view of the last mentioned fact, that the general tone of the book is temperate in discussing the points of difference which have recently been acute between American investors and the Mexican party in power.

There are several introductory historical chapters which, while utterly inadequate as history, are well-written from standard authorities. One is not oppressed by the condensation, nor afflicted by unwarrantable generalizations.

Following the portrayal of the background, there is presented a well-phrased picture of the social and hygienic conditions which constitute the environment of the masses of Mexico. How the basic social question is the proper raising of standards of living is a well-developed thesis, in which the incredibly harsh conditions under which the Indians of Mexico have lived from the time of the Conquest, are shown to be the sorry background of much of the misery of today.

Mr. Trowbridge concurs in the popular estimate of President Diaz as a material benefactor without adequate social vision, of Madero as an idealist without practical ability, and he has many sympathizers in his estimate of Huerta as a strong man who might have saved much subsequent bloodshed had he been recognized. Always it is futile to argue what might have been, but it is not a very wide venture to say that the "iron hand" policy definitely disappeared from Mexico with Diaz. Those who argue for the merits of recognition of Huerta and

¹ This and the three following reviews were written in December, 1919, hence it is to be observed that such phrases as "the present revolution" etc., are not to be referred to conditions which have arisen since the advent of the new year.—HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

non-interference, instead of aid to Carranza, do not recognize that there is, in spite of much that is dubious in the present revolution after all a basis of sincerity which may yet bring about satisfactory conditions.

With his seventeenth chapter Mr. Trowbridge begins the "Tomorrow" part of the volume. He is strikingly sympathetic with the Carranza government. He believes that it has a social ideal and, while he realizes that its program has serious elements of impracticability, he has no cynicism, no exasperated criticism for it. He points out with rather too moderate phrases, that the radical Constitution of 1917 is Utopian and impractical in its provisions for the protection of the laboring classes, and irritating in its program for restoring to the Mexican nation the mineral oil resources which went into foreign control under Diaz. He accords due credit to the efforts, crowned in large part with success, to revive business, establish the currency, and improve economic conditions generally. From many of his conclusions the reader may dissent, but in his apparent patience, his sense of the right-mindedness of the Mexicans as a people and their ability to "find themselves" ultimately, there is much to confirm the hope of Americans who look for the stabilization of Mexico from within as a more worthy and more reasonable program than the imposition of a régime from without. The failure of this hope, if fail it must, will be due to the fact that whether we like it or not, the interests of the United States are so bound up in the public peace and the economic development of Mexico that our own public shall grow tired of unstable conditions and delay in arriving at an understanding on economic matters. On this phase the author says in conclusion:

"The forces set in motion [by the revolution] have not yet had time to take any definite direction, nor has the nation had time to adjust its thoughts to the new order of things. There are excesses, there are extremes, there are a dozen problems yet to be solved. The pessimist sees, in the violence of the change, nothing but a halt in industry, a set-back in progress. To the optimist the revolution, in spite of its ills, means the opening of a new era, of incentive developing initiative, and initiative pushing forward to success."

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

Industrial Mexico: 1919 Facts and Figures. By P. HARVEY MIDDLETON. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1919. pp. 270. \$2.00.)

A hopeful outlook on material Mexico is the summed up impression which the reader derives from this timely book of information. From the opening statement: "Mexico is on the eve of the greatest era of development and prosperity that the country has ever seen", to the end, an optimistic note is sounded. This optimism is based on the assumption that peace must soon come, from the inside preferably, but if not, then from the outside, to the revolution-torn country. Be this as the future shall reveal; the hope of stabilization rests on abundant bases of success, and with that realized, must come what Mr. Middleton predicts.

Mexico's foreign debt, about which we wag our heads so dismally, is trivial compared with her numberless resources. In spite of bandits, the country is "coming back"; her trade is about 80 per cent with the United States; her resources must be developed largely with our capital, hence we must have sane, rational legislation in Mexico which will insure the safety of our old investments and assure the extension of our new ones.

In the development of the foregoing thesis, the author places at the reader's disposal in a dozen chapters the most compact, authoritative, and readable account of general business conditions in the southern republic that has come to notice. Adequate space is given to the latest information on transportation, the oil industry, mines, agriculture, timber, trade opportunities, and sugar and coffee plantations. Under each of these items the opportunity for investment of American capital is set forth without allurements or misrepresentation, and with adequate statement of the physical conditions under which investors must operate. The business and legal phases of the problem are presented in chapters which discuss in turn the questions of credit and banking, the national debt, and the Constitution of 1917, with a brief summary of the operation of the government departments and institutions.

One can only wish that, the facts being as the author states them, the potential prosperity were actually at hand. Unfortunately, the trend of current events indicates some postponement of the solution of many problems which lie back of material prosperity. Yet out of the ruck and confusion of our relations with Mexico stand certain palpable truths which ought to give us hope. First of all we should re-

member that, badly as Mexico needs us, we also need her. If the need be mutual, then good temper and right treatment on both sides are equally imperative. For ourselves, we should believe that the Mexicans, like the Americans, are people, that they want peaceful and amicable relations, not as a colony of the United States, but as a free and independent people whose destiny should remain in their own hands. If we can be convinced that they are amenable to respectful, direct, and courteous treatment, we shall be able to drop the suspicious truculency of our recent relations, and find a way to live as neighbors and friends.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

Mexico Under Carranza. By THOMAS EDWARD GIBBON. (New York: Doubleday Page and Company, 1919. 270 pages. \$1.50.)

The author sets forth admirably the many material services which foreign capital has rendered in Mexico. The emphasis is placed on the benefits which have accrued to Mexico rather than to capital. We may assume then that the latter are taken for granted, since no one can be expected to believe that foreign investments have not been highly gainful, some of them even under the extremely difficult conditions of recent years. On the other hand no one would seek to argue that much foreign as well as national capital has not suffered severe losses during the decade just closing, or that the conditions which surround industry do not need thoroughgoing improvement.

The description of these conditions by Mr. Gibbon is based on current Mexican newspaper reports. There is no likelihood that these reports are incorrect in their general content. Many of the items cited are taken from papers not unfriendly to the revolution, and it is hardly conceivable that they were printed by those papers as indictments of the Carranza régime. The facts recounted were looked upon as news items, accounts of conditions which need correction, the usual gatherings of reports of extraordinary or sensational news value intended to make the papers salable. We are not unfamiliar with that system of news gathering in the United States. But we do not set ourselves to garnering all the horrors of the news sheets in support of the thesis that our actual government is the cause of them. We need to bear in mind that while the government is and must be responsible for evil conditions (or there would be no civic responsibility left in the world), yet there are contributory circumstances which make that responsibility especially arduous, and that the cumulative influ-

ences of years may be deluged upon an agency that temporarily proves inadequate to remedy the situation.

This is what Mr. Gibbon overlooks in his just charges that the masses of the Mexicans live submerged in misery indescribable, that there is great waste of public money, that certain civil and military officers of the government are guilty of the grossest forms of graft, and that there are hasty and unreasonable confiscations of the property of nationals and foreigners alike. Such conditions are not new in Mexico, if we may believe a large part of the books and articles that come out of that land. Many of these ills have always existed there; they are especially accentuated by the present revolution, but the revolution is itself a protest against certain of them which grew to unmeasured proportions under the beneficial rule of a successful materialist, who was aided by the very foreign investments which Mr. Gibbon so properly praises for their happy effect on social conditions within limited areas. That is to say, the evils which the author finds are not primarily due to the Carranza government, nor has the application of foreign capital, under most friendly conditions, made a widespread creditable showing in changing the general condition of the people.

The author touches what many believe to be the real sorespot when he ascribes the difficulty to race antagonism and the tyranny of the Hispanic element over the native element. Ten or fifteen per cent of the Mexicans are Hispanic, the rest are Indians or mixed breeds. The political shifts that have occurred in endless succession have been among the ten or fifteen per cent, and one fraction or other of it has triumphed without doing much to benefit the eighty-five or ninety per cent. That is no harder to understand than it is to understand that Democrats and Republicans have carried on their political contests in the United States without effecting much change in the condition of the native Indian population here. The ratio of our whites to Indians is of course more than inverted, and our Indians are on reservations, and not mingled throughout the country, nor utilized in the so-called campaigns through which one group or other rises to power. But the Indian element in Mexico has about as much influence on the political destiny of Mexico as the Indian element in the United States has on our own political destiny.

If this condition inevitably results in the degradation of the native Indian majority and the corruption of the Hispanic minority—which is not “alien” by the way, but also native—there is little hope that

any revolution such as those which have occurred in Mexico can effect genuine reform. Mr. Gibbon thinks that the only hope is the intervention of some such saving power as that of England in Egypt or of ourselves in the Philippines and Cuba.

This is the innate self-assurance of the Anglo-Saxon, who is quite sure that his own way is best—for himself—and hence must be so for everyone else. But with such intervention should we have any thing other than the domination of a minority which would be in verity alien, and are we sure that such an alien minority (ourselves), would not be as selfish and tyrannical as the Hispanic Mexican, that we should not also degrade the native Indian and the Hispanic Mexican alike, and meantime in the same way corrupt ourselves? Could we ever, once having seriously undertaken to control Mexico by force, find the opportune moment to give over that control to a united nation which would go on in the path we had marked out, grateful to us for the lesson taught, and emerging gradually into the satisfactory neighbor we want Mexico to be? That is the long hard question. The interventionist assumes that once our power is interposed there will be an end to the "Mexican Situation." That is the short view, the impatient view, and, we fear, the selfish view. The non-interventionist has to face a present unsatisfactory situation, full of irrational complexes, full of irritation. But the condition of neighbors will be with us for many generations; the problem, then, is one of neighborliness. The Mexican nation owes her existence to us, from her wars of independence through French intervention; she owes much economic progress to us. We owe to Mexico much, very much, of our wealth and opportunity. Mutually, the debts should be discharged with reasonableness and good sense; if we are beyond reasonableness alone, let us try arbitration of our troubles before we undertake the entire responsibility for a peace outwardly established which entails an internal problem fraught with vast consequences to our social and economic fabric.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

Mexico's Dilemma. By CARL A. ACKERMAN. (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918. p. 281. \$1.50.)

This is a reprint of a series of articles published during 1917 in the *Saturday Evening Post*. The title is a misnomer. The author considered the dilemma of Mexico as a three-horned one: financial ruin unless a foreign loan be obtained, possible predominance of German influence, or coöperation with the Allies. To speak of these as neces-

sarily distinct eventualities, or to imply that whichever one chosen must prove disastrous, is illogical.

The first article, "The Mexican Puzzle", discussed the prospect of Mexico's effecting a break with Berlin and joining the Allies. Another aspect of the puzzle was, and still is, How can Mexico obtain a foreign loan? The second article, "Rebels and Revolutions", described certain military aspects of the Revolution, features of the financial situation of Mexico, and the German propaganda of war time.

In "Germany's Ally at Tampico" the place of distinction was given to I. W. W. activities at that port. The "protection" of the oil companies by Pelaez, the German effort to control the oil supply, and the apparent sympathy of the Mexican Government for Germany, figured conspicuously. "The Last Spy Offensive" renewed the discussion of the German propaganda and our counter campaign; curiously enough, the author seemed satisfied that the German effort had been pretty effectually blocked, and that Mexico and the United States were, in the midsummer of 1917, "on friendlier terms than at any time during the war."

The chapter called "Rising or Setting Sun in Mexico" dealt with the question, which is still pending, whether the Carranza government can establish permanent peace; it attributed rather more success to the efforts of Ambassador Fletcher and others to promote pro-American feeling than was actually attained.

Being of the "timely" variety, these articles have now lost much of their original interest. The style in which they were conceived and written makes evident their purpose to convince the American reader that our efforts to keep Mexico from going pro-German were fairly successful, and also to convey to Mexico (the *Post* is offered for sale there on the same day as in the United States) that if she didn't want to feel friendly she'd better try, for her own good.

Numerous appendices add to the value of the book. The chief of these is a reprint of the Constitution of 1917 as translated by Mr. H. N. Branch. Others give information concerning the organization of the American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico City and the figures for the election of Carranza to the presidency.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

La Religión del Imperio de los Incas. JACINTO JIJÓN Y CAAMAÑO. (Quito: Tipografía y Encuadernación Salesianas, 1919. Pp. 452.)

Among the younger intellectuals of the Andean countries Don Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, of Quito, Ecuador, occupies an eminent position. He is the direct successor to the labors so effectively carried on by the late Archbishop of Quito, Federico González-Suárez. Archbishop González-Suárez was undoubtedly one of the greatest writers on Andean history and prehistory, and his work was always distinguished by a scholarly solidity in perfect keeping with his own fine and saintly character. Sr. Jijón has definitely proved many times that he is well worthy to carry on the work of his famous friend, the great prelate who wrote the *Historia General del Ecuador* and *Prehistoria Ecuatoriana*. The works of Archbishop González-Suárez prove conclusively that there is no incompatibility between solid science and the doctrine of Holy Mother Church; it would be well for the intellectual life of several Hispanic American countries were their chief thinkers to ponder well this aspect of the late Archbishop's labors.

The book at present under consideration was written four years ago. It is dedicated "A la santa memoria de mi madre. Paris, Febrero de 1916." All who knew Señora Caamaño de Jijón declare her to have been a woman of wonderfully gracious charm, of unusual intellectual attainments, and of sweet and practical piety. She finds a fitting memorial in this book by her son.

The first chapter (pp. 1 to 97), is entitled "Las huacas." It emphasizes the important fact that sun-worship was peculiar to the Inca clan or "royal family" of Cuzco and that the mass of the people adored a vast variety of minor and local gods called *huacas*. The various *huaca*-cults were, from the point of view of both evolution and of history, far older than the sun-cult of the Inca clan. They lasted longer, too, for, being profoundly rooted among the lowest orders of the people, they were harder to stamp out. Indeed, some sardonic soul may say that even today they flourish as vigorously as ever in the remote folds of the Andean ravines.

In studying the *huacas*, Sr. Jijón examines similar intellectual and spiritual manifestations among other primitive peoples the world over. His method is the illustrative one so successfully used by Fraser, Westermarck, and others. In using it, Sr. Jijón displays a wide acquaintance with the best anthropological writers. Lang, Reinach, Réville, Im Thurn, Clodd, Spencer, Lubbock, Dorman, Hastings, Parkman and many other famous authors are cited generously in his im-

portant footnotes. In short, this chapter is a definite and authoritative summary of the animistic *huaca*-cults of Peru. *Huacas* were usually rivers, boulders, and similar objects.

The second chapter (pp. 99 to 173), treats of the *conopas*. As long ago as 1621, Father Joseph de Arriaga compared the *conopas* to the *Lares* and *Penates* of the Romans. The chief contrast between *huaca*-worship and *conopa*-worship lies in the fact that the former was open and public, being participated in by a whole valley or province, whereas the latter was a strictly private matter, shared in only by the members of one clan or family. Most of the *conopas* were small stones carefully carved into divers shapes. They partook of the character of talismans to a large extent. Both *huacas* and *conopas* were made the recipients of elaborately staged sacrifices and ritualistic supplications. Besides the more general sort of *conopas*, there were maize-*conopas*, potato-*conopas*, llama-*conopas*, and other special classes of *conopas* the object of which is plain enough. Sometimes these took the form of finely made statuettes; sometimes they were vessels molded to represent the object to which the *conopa* in question had especial reference. All *conopas* were ordinarily transmitted from father to son.

The third chapter (pp. 175 to 301), discusses the *apachitas*, a class of objects which has excited much comment. They are piles of stones and sticks found at the summits of mountain-passes, along roads in the deserts or on the plains, or marking some special spot upon the way. Similar piles of stones may be found all over the world. After going into the whole matter very deeply, Sr. Jijón comes to the conclusion that the *apachitas* of Incaic Peru were merely a class of genii of the road to whom small propitiatory offerings were made by wayfarers.

The fourth chapter (pp. 303 to 372), takes up the matter of sacred mountains and discusses it in a manner worthy of the rest of the book. The last two chapters (pp. 373 to 451), examine a considerable variety of minor cults.

The book is a real masterpiece of careful research. Yet it has one fault: carelessness in the matter of reproducing foreign (non-Spanish) names. Thus we find here and there "codd" for "clodd," "la Plesche" for "la Flesche," "Middenford" for "Middendorf," "The Golden Bougg" for "The Golden Bough," "Fewks" for "Fewkes," and a number of other lamentable mis-spellings. Of course, to the Spanish-speaking mind, English, and even French and German, names seem barbarously unphonetic, but since they are so, writers of Spanish

speech should learn them letter by letter writing them for practice a number of times if need be, rather than make ugly and unseemly errors.

With this single exception, mentioned only in the hope that the fault will be avoided by Sr. Jijón in later works, the book under review is admirable. Both the paper and the type are good, and the material provided for students is of the very first importance.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

La Primera Centuria. Tomo. 1. By PEDRO DÁVALOS Y LISSÓN.
(Lima: Librería é Imprenta Gil, 1919.)

This work is the first volume of a very exhaustive examination of the political, economic, commercial, and social status of contemporary Peru. Its most striking characteristic is an implacable frankness not untinted by a noble melancholy. It is the work of one of Peru's best and wisest citizens. Coming from such a man, this book, which unhesitatingly analyzes the causes of Peru's relative backwardness, possesses peculiar significance and weightiness. Every line in it shows very clearly that Sr. Dávalos is filled with an ardor which consumes him with desire to see his country great, noble, and powerful, as she could and should be. The note of pessimism which, in some pages, rings too loudly and too insistently is the outcome of the utter righteousness of the patriotic aspirations of Sr. Dávalos. He longs to see his magnificent native land as splendidly successful as she ought to be in relation to the other nations of the world. Yet she is not as he would see her. The contrast between stern realities and his radiant imaginings causes the author to become dejected and bitter. It is against just such pessimism that contemporary Peru must fight with all her strength if she is ever to make herself the great nation she might presently become. "The reigning pessimism," as Sr. Dávalos himself calls it, is found in almost all the works of Peru's best thinkers. It is, to my mind, a most dangerous frame of mind.

With the exception of this single fault, the book takes high rank. From the literary point of view, it is first class, for many of its pages could well be used as models of modern Spanish prose. The information and statistics which it contains as to the trade, public instruction, social condition, and many another aspect of present-day Peru are both unexceptionable and various. This is largely due to the fact that Sr. Dávalos personally knows many sections of his own country. He is not one of those who consider a trip from Lima to Chosica a journey

into the "interior" of Peru. The twenty-five long chapters of the book tell many indispensable things about the government, commerce, public health, communications, mining, agriculture, foreign policy, and so on of Peru.

This book shows Sr. Dávalos to be a man of the type which is destined to bring Peru to her own. His is a country which has suffered a number of grave misfortunes in the past, and the effects of them hurt her in the present. But a bountiful Creator has endued her with immeasurable natural riches. Faith in the future greatness of their country on the part of the Peruvians, earnestness in their efforts to make her potentialities actualities, and faithfulness to high political and social ideals, these are the qualities which will make the Peruvians and their country reach their proper station among the nations of the American continent.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Studies in Spanish-American Literature. By ISAAC GOLDBERG, Ph.D.
(New York: Brentano's, 1920. Pp. 377. \$2.50 net.)

The appearance of this interesting volume marks a distinct advance in the study and appreciation of Spanish-American literature in the United States. Except for Dr. Alfred Coester's pioneer *Literary History of South America*, published several years ago, no attempt hitherto has been made by North American scholars to treat the literature of the Southern republics in a critical and constructive fashion. Even the academic specialists in Hispanic America have as a rule been unfamiliar with the great literary masters of that region, and this important cultural field has been almost completely neglected. Dr. Goldberg's book reveals a virgin field of study, one which is destined to assume more and more importance in the future, for it shows the possibilities for scholarly literary criticism afforded by the works of Hispanic American men of letters.

The present volume consists of six essays. The first one is devoted to a consideration of the "modernist renovation" in Hispanic America, which the author defines as an "intellectual and artistic reaction, signaling the definite entrance of Spanish America into European literary currents. He believes that while French influence was conspicuous, it by no means prevented the movement in America acquiring individualism and independence. Taking the year 1888 as the real starting point of the modernist movement, Dr. Goldberg provides the necessary background by discussing first the precursors of the modernist school, among whom he includes Manuel Gutiérrez Najera, José

Martí, Julian del Casal, José Asunción Silva, Amado Nervo, and Enrique González Martínez. This entire introductory essay is a remarkable piece of literary criticism, abounding in stimulating ideas and striking stylistic passages. Take, for instance, the following characterization:

"Contemporary Spanish-American prose and verse, at their best, are remarkable for their lucidity, their ductility, their adaptation to the multifarious hues and humors of latter-day thought. The language can crackle and splutter beneath the fiery pen of a Blanco-Fombona; in the hands of a Dario it acquires Gallic luminosity; Santos Chocano achieves with it new seniorities that well match his volcanic, bi-continental utterances; José Enrique Rodó makes it the vehicle of pregnant essays that at times match those of Macaulay or Emerson."

This opening chapter is followed by five essays on Ruben Dario, José Enrique, Rodó, José Santos Chocano, José María Eguren and Rufino Blanco-Fombona. As in the case of the writers discussed in the first chapter, new and interesting biographical data are given, and liberal quotations are made from their best-known works, both in the original Spanish version and in the excellent translations of Dr. Goldberg and of Alice Stone Blackwell, all being woven together by a running thread of constructive and original comment.

This volume is not the kind of book usually brought out by the scholarly academician. It will have a wide popular appeal, for it is full of present-day interest. Dr. Goldberg is thoroughly alive to the important part played by Spanish-American writers in moulding the political thought of the peoples of the southern countries, and he throws much new light upon such practical questions as Pan-Americanism, Pan-Hispanic tendencies, relations with Spain, the mother country, and general political and economic influences.

Throughout the book there is evident a spirit of fairness and of sympathetic understanding. The author does not attempt to gloss over the antipathy that has been manifested by the majority of Spanish-American writers to the United States, but his frank discussion and explanation of their attitude will tend to create a still better feeling on their part and on the part of their readers.

Such books as Dr. Goldberg's are of inestimable value. The author's promise to publish a similar volume in the near future is gratifying, for in it he will doubtless deal with other writers who are entitled to equal consideration. It is to be hoped also that he will extend his studies to the field of Brazilian literature, since he seems equally at

home in the Portuguese as in the Spanish language. It requires an unusual combination of talents to deal with this phase of Hispanic American culture, and Dr. Goldberg shows beyond question that he is a thorough master of his subject.

W. E. DUNN.

List of References on the Monroe Doctrine. Compiled under the direction of Herman H. B. Meyer, Chief Bibliographer (Library of Congress). (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919. Pp. 122. 15 cents.)

This useful bibliographical list contains 935 titles according to the number as given in the book, but there are really considerably more, as various titles have the same number with a letter added, as a, b, c, etc. Of the titles as numbered, 1-372 consist of books which treat in whole or in part of the Doctrine; nos. 373-919 are of articles published in periodicals; and the rest consist of speeches, etc., published in the *Congressional Record*. In his preface, Mr. Meyer says:

A subject of such importance as the Monroe doctrine has naturally given rise to a voluminous literature, and at the first touch it seemed as if a classification were desirable, but this turned out not to be the case. To present the material in a satisfactory classified form involved a duplication of entries to an unusual degree, and as the volume of literature was great in itself, a straight alphabetical arrangement for books and pamphlets and a chronological arrangement for periodical articles was adopted. The more important speeches, etc., which have appeared in the *Congressional Record* are grouped at the end in alphabetical order of authors. Reliance is placed on an analytical index to bring out the minuter phases of the subject.

Material by authors of the United States and of foreign countries is cited, although the list makes no pretense of being exhaustive. The table of contents is given to a number of the book titles, a feature that will prove of considerable value. The index (10 pages) is good. The list will be found useful by many different classes of people, doubly so because of the new emphasis recently placed upon the Monroe Doctrine.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE SECOND PAN AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

An event fraught with unusual interest for the student of Hispanic American history was the meeting of the Second Pan American Financial Conference at Washington in January of the present year. Under any circumstances a gathering of this character would be important; assembled in the crucial period when shadows of the Great War had hardly passed beyond the horizon and a host of baffling problems of reconstruction were pressing for solution the Conference was well calculated to challenge the thoughtful attention of all those interested in a closer approximation between the United States and Hispanic America. While primarily concerned with the problems and technique of national and international finance, the Conference, before its sessions were concluded, came to embrace the entire field of our economic relations with our sister republics. In the belief that some account of the personnel, machinery and achievements of the Conference would prove of interest to the readers of the REVIEW the present sketch has been prepared, based in part on the writer's observations as secretary of the Brazilian group, one of the nineteen committees into which the Conference was divided.

The significance of the meeting at Washington can perhaps be better appreciated if we cast a brief glance in retrospect and note the place it seems destined to occupy in the larger Pan American movement. In all candor it must be conceded that until recently the whole structure of Pan Americanism has rested upon a slender foundation. The very name predicates a certain identity or at least community of interest in the domain of language, race, and religion; or in political and economic outlook. It is obvious that judged by most of these criteria the United States and Hispanic America have little in common. They are separated by barriers of language and race and by differences in cultural background. While we of the North hark back in large measure at least to Anglo-Saxon and Germanic origins our Southern neighbors are the spiritual heirs of Spain, Portugal, and France. And until the last few decades Hispanic America and the United States have in no

large sense constituted an economic unit: they have both been exporters of raw material and importers of manufactured articles; partly for this reason their commercial relations with Europe have been closer than with each other. Not until we seek for an identity of political institutions do we find ourselves on surer ground. All the nations to the South of us are republics at least in name, with written constitutions more or less closely modeled on our own. Although the theories and practices of popular sovereignty often show a wide divergence all of these nations are advancing, some rapidly, some painfully toward a more real democracy.

Historically considered Pan Americanism can lay claim to an existence covering nearly a century. While the genesis of the movement is still a matter of controversy the right to the title of the first Pan American has with some show of reason been accorded our own Henry Clay. To this warm-heated Kentuckian, for whom all things Spanish-American shimmered in a kind of golden haze, the former Spanish colonists were our neighbors and brothers because they were denizens of the New World and in their struggle for freedom from their mother country had followed the trail blazed by Washington. As is well known, Clay's chief efforts were exerted towards securing the recognition by the United States of the independence of these former Spanish colonies, a consummation reached in 1822. Four years later Bolívar, the liberator of northern South America and President of the Republic of Greater Colombia, adumbrated the Pan American movement in the form in which it was later known. In 1826, at his urgent invitation, there was held on the Isthmus of Panama a Congress which has sometimes been dignified with the epithet of "Pan American". All the independent states of the New World were invited to send delegates. Although this Panama Congress was richer in promise than achievement—the tangible results were inconsequential—the impetus given to the movement of continental solidarity was never entirely lost.

It remained for our Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, half a century later, to translate the aspirations of Henry Clay and Bolívar into something akin to reality. A victim possibly of his too generous illusions, Blaine was sincerely convinced that the time was ripe for the nations of the two Americas to enter upon a new era of close coöperation and mutual helpfulness. The first Pan American Congress which met at Washington in 1888 as a result of his efforts aroused a widespread and sympathetic interest throughout both Americas. The delegates of the eighteen states represented were men both of ability

and of vision. Included in the program submitted to the Congress for discussion were such widely-varied topics as a customs union, reciprocity, transportation (both maritime and rail), uniformity of weights and measures, the creation of a monetary union, and the setting up of machinery for international arbitration. Had this program been realized in its entirety it would have gone far towards the creation of an economic New World. Three other Pan American Congresses have met in Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires in 1902, 1906, and 1910 respectively. There have also been held two Pan American Scientific Congresses, one in Santiago de Chile in 1908 and the other in Washington in 1916.

Judged by the results thus far achieved in the shape of conventions and treaties the showing made by these imposing gatherings has been disappointing. Aside from the ratification of a number of arbitration treaties and the creation at Washington of the exceedingly useful Pan American Union, their tangible accomplishments have been few. It was inevitable however that progress should be slow. The territory was too new, the principles of coöperation, so essential to success, were untried; and problems of joint action proved extraordinarily complicated. Yet if we cast a glance at the ground traversed we may recognize a distinct advance. The very existence of these assemblies, in which the representations of widely-varied interests were given opportunity of exchanging views, measuring each other, and finding bases for common action, marked a step forward. International administration, as has recently been made painfully apparent, is still in its infancy and the obstacles to its growth many and seemingly insuperable.

One test of the vitality of the Pan American movement, as of so many other human institutions, was to be found in the crucible of war. When the entry of the United States into the Great War brought the western hemisphere within the area of hostilities the question at once arose: would the remaining members of the Pan American family of nations remain passive spectators in the contest between the forces of freedom and despotism or would they elect to follow the example of the United States? Though not unanimous the answer was impressive. Pan Americanism ceased to be a mere rallying point for international congresses, a subject for after-dinner speeches, a diplomatic shibboleth. Under the stress of war it became a dynamic force, invested with a new meaning and purpose. The nations of the New World became acutely conscious of a common heritage of ideals of democracy and

liberty which the triumph of the Central Powers would imperil. While due weight should be given to all other factors, such, for instance, as the sympathy for France and the reaction to Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare, the influence of the ideal of Pan American solidarity was decisive in the case of a number of Hispanic American states which officially aligned themselves with the United States and the Allies either through a declaration of war against Germany or the rupture of diplomatic and commercial relations. As President Braz of Brazil well put it in his despatch to President Wilson on June 13, 1917, "Brazil, in taking her place once more at the side of the United States, has remained faithful to her political and diplomatic tradition of continental solidarity"; while the Uruguayan government in the decree defining its attitude towards the American belligerents stated that "it has proclaimed the principle of American solidarity as the criterion of its international policy". Even those nations which maintained an official neutrality, with one or two possible exceptions, voiced their approval of the policy of the United States while recognizing the justice of the cause which led to our declaration of war against Germany.

The war has done more than bring home the existence of a community of democratic ideals and aspirations among the American republics; it has revealed the need of an effective and mutually profitable coöperation in the economic and financial sphere as well. This practical Pan Americanism not only has enlisted the interest of those governmental and business and financial circles to which international coöperation along diplomatic or political lines offers scant appeal, but also has found concrete expression in a series of Pan American Financial Conferences of which the first was held at Washington in 1915. This gathering differed in at least two fundamental respects from all previous Pan American assemblies. The agenda placed upon the program were rigorously limited to topics well within the bounds of practicality and at the same time machinery was created for carrying out the specific proposals and recommendations of the Conference. Hitherto the resolutions of these international gatherings had only too often been little more than pious wishes, fervently uttered, duly embalmed in the printed proceedings and quietly forgotten. This serious fault was now in a fair way towards being remedied. In 1915, as an outgrowth of the Conference at Washington, was created the International High Commission. This body is composed of the ministers or secretaries of the treasury of the twenty American republics and such assistants and technical experts as they may care to appoint. It is a

permanent organization, supported by governmental appropriations, and has as its primary purpose the duty of translating into legislative and administrative action the reports of the Financial Conferences. It has already more than justified its existence, since largely through its efforts more than half the proposals of the First Financial Conference have been actually carried out.

For obvious reasons it seemed desirable at the conclusion of the Great War to summon a second Pan American Financial Conference. The events of the past half decade have profoundly affected the financial structure of most of the Hispanic American nations and have produced marked changes in the international economic relations of all. The United States is intimately concerned with these transformations. In the case of practically all of the South American countries the United States has passed from third to first place in the source and destination of their imports and exports. Great Britain has lost her primacy; Germany has been at least temporarily eliminated. The magnitude of this shifting in the current of our foreign commerce is in part revealed by the increase in our trade with all of Hispanic America from eight hundred and eight million dollars in 1913 to one billion nine hundred and seven million in 1918. It is confidently expected that it will run well over the two billion mark when the figures for 1919 are available.

In a number of other respects the war has revealed the need of closer economic coöperation between Hispanic America and the United States. Prior to 1914, practically all public improvements as well as many private enterprises of the countries of South America had been financed in Europe; the greater part of their foreign debts was held in England and France. With the outbreak of hostilities this source of capital was automatically dried up and it is apparent that for many years to come the money markets of the Old World will have but a scanty surplus to meet the ever-growing needs of Hispanic America. The situation has been further aggravated by the urgent need of funds to enable our sister republics to carry out the plans for economic expansion and growth which necessarily were in abeyance during the war. And with the coming of peace it seemed therefore entirely logical that the financiers and business men of both Americas should feel that the solution of the many and vexing financial and economic problems bequeathed by the war might be measurably hastened through the medium of a conference in which all of the Hispanic American republics and the United States would be represented.

Such were the conditions under which the Second Pan American Financial Conference met at Washington from January 19 to 24 of the present year. At the invitation of the government of the United States sixty delegates from the Hispanic American nations and over two hundred of this country's foremost bankers, exporters, and business men met for the mature consideration of the financial and industrial questions facing the American republics during the trying period of reconstruction. The Conference brought together the largest number of cabinet ministers—chiefly ministers of finance—ever assembled at a Pan American gathering.

The scope of the task confronting the Conference may perhaps best be understood by a brief reference to the program of topics agreed upon by the governments represented. They dealt with the effects of the war upon the commerce, industries, mining, manufacturing, agriculture, and public utilities of the various Hispanic American countries; the needs for capital and credit facilities and the means wherewith they might be provided; the factors, favorable and adverse, affecting public credit; the effect of the war on transportation facilities and a survey of the needs of the present and future for increased maritime, rail, and aerial communications; measures to facilitate commercial intercourse; the development of uniform legislation with regard to custom regulations, checks, bills of exchange, warehouse receipts, patents, copyrights, and admiralty laws. The urgency of at least one of these problems was made clear by a disgruntled member of the Argentine delegation who, forced by post-war conditions to reach New York via London, plaintively declared that passenger service between the United States and Buenos Aires was no better than in 1816. Despite its palpable exaggeration his grievance harbored a large kernel of truth.

It is clear from the foregoing that the Conference, though primarily concerned with financial affairs, interpreted its duties with great latitude. That so much was accomplished during the comparatively short period of the sessions was due to careful organization, business-like methods of procedure, and, in the case of many of the countries represented, to extensive preliminary work. Realizing the importance of adequate preparation, the executive council of the Pan American Conference had requested the various Hispanic American governments to prepare memoranda or reports on the various major topics included in the program. Not all of the governments found it possible to accede to this suggestion. A number of delegations, however, arrived at

Washington equipped with a large amount of carefully digested material, mostly of a statistical character. While it is perhaps invidious to single out any particular delegation for special mention it may be noted that the Chilean, Ecuadorian and Bolivian sections of the International High Commission had been especially zealous in supplying the representatives of their respective countries with useful and valuable data. The Chilean delegates, for instance, came equipped with eight neatly bound reports of such subjects as "Facilidades bancarias", "Estadística comercial", "Sistema tributario", "Transportes marítimos", "Transportes terrestres", "Propiedad intelectual e industrial", "Letras de cambio y cheques", "Sistema monetario". All of this material had been assembled expressly for the use of the Conference.

In the case of the Brazilian delegation important preliminary work was performed at Washington. The head of the delegation, the distinguished engineer and financial authority, Dr. Carlos Sampaio, together with his able secretary and legal advisor, Dr. Coelho Rodrigues, arrived in Washington nearly two weeks before the Conference opened. As nearly half the members of the American group committee, including the chairman, Mr. Oscar T. Crosby, and the secretary, were likewise in Washington, informal meetings were held almost daily at the Brazilian embassy or in the Treasury building. As a result, when the Conference formally opened the ground had been cleared of much irrelevant material, a definite program of work had been formulated, and a large number of sub-committees appointed.

In order to afford each country the opportunity for the discussion of its particular problems with the utmost frankness and freedom the plan was adopted of organizing so-called group conference committees which held protracted executive sessions. Of these committees there were nineteen corresponding to the Hispanic American nations represented at the Conference. Each committee consisted of the official delegates, a special representative of the secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and some fifteen Americans who were assumed to be especially competent to discuss the financial and economic problems of the country in question. Just before the end of the sessions the secretary of each committee drew up a detailed report of its findings and recommendations, which was in turn transmitted to the committee on resolutions of the Pan American Conference as a whole of which Dr. John Bassett Moore was chairman. This latter committee prepared the official list of resolutions and recommendations which were finally adopted by the Conference in plenary session.

The meetings in executive session of the group conference committees, though of the utmost importance, by no means exhausted the activity of the Conference. There was a considerable number of meetings open to the public, luncheons, receptions, and on the last evening a formal banquet tendered by the Secretary of the Treasury. The public sessions were inaugurated by a brief but striking message from President Wilson of which the dominant note was the opportunity for mutual service afforded by the Conference. Important pronouncements touching the economic relations of Hispanic America and the United States were also made during these general sessions. Mr. McAdoo, the former Secretary of the Treasury, discussed the achievements of the First Pan American Conference in relation to the growth of trade and commerce between the United States and the remaining American Republics. Judge Payne, of the United States Shipping Board, outlined a comprehensive plan for adequate maritime communications between the Americas. Dr. John Bassett Moore gave an illuminating account of the work of the International High Commission. The Honorable Huston Thompson of the Federal Trade Commission spoke on "International Regulation of Unfair Competition", and the Honorable Paul M. Warburg on "Fiscal Currency Standards as the Measure of the Credit of Nations".

The Hispanic American delegates were of course given every opportunity to present their views at these public sessions. The Conference was threatened in fact with a plethora of speech-making. Suggestions that the delegates elect three or four of their number to reply to the address of welcome of Secretary Lansing proved to be futile as all of the nineteen delegations insisted on voicing their pleasure and satisfaction in foregathering in Washington on such an auspicious occasion. References to our larger world relations could hardly be avoided. "Without the United States the League of Nations is not complete", declared Dr. Sampaio of Brazil in an impressive peroration. "Meanwhile let us realize by friendship and coöperation the League of the Americas." Dr. Ricardo Aldao of Argentina evoked applause when in the course of his eulogy of the part the United States played in the War, he turned to the American flag hanging on the wall of the conference room, and oratorically declared "Elder Brother you did well and we are happy and proud of your immortal attitude".

It would be an error to assume that the public utterances of the Hispanic American delegates were confined merely to expressions of international comity. Many of the speeches embodied constructive sug-

gestions of novel interest and in some cases of permanent value. The theme which recurred with the greatest frequency was the pressing need of the investment of North American capital and the advantages which would accrue to both creditor and debtor. The Argentine delegate Dr. Zuberbühler, after stressing the fact that foreign investments are one of the greatest stimulants to foreign trade, appositely cited the results of the employment of British capital in his own country. The most striking proposal on the general subject of foreign loans was that of the Bolivian delegate, Dr. Tejada. The plan in brief was the transference of the foreign obligations of the Hispanic American countries from Europe to the United States. "All Latin America has been financed by Europe", declared the author of this project. "As debtors we bear the moral obligations to return the savings of Europe when she needs them. If the United States decides to grant help to Europe, let her do it by allowing Latin America to pay its obligations to European countries. This method would allow Latin America to take advantage of the condition of the exchange and would work no harm to Europe as the exchange situation must be adjusted before her reconstruction can begin. And no advantage would accrue to Europe by keeping her South American securities because they will not be worth more later. On the other hand there would be created a market for European securities, as the South American countries in paying their obligations would buy the money of these countries, thus tending to stabilize exchange. If you thus allow Latin America to pay her debts with economy, the results of that economy you may be well assured will be invested in the construction of railroads and the development of other industries." Dr. Tejada further suggested that a portion of these obligations be paid in the form of food-stuffs.

It should be frankly stated that despite its alluring features, this proposal did not commend itself to all the delegates to the Conference. One could easily detect a certain latent opposition. The most serious objection, although it was never broached in public discussion, was the apprehension felt in some quarters that such a wholesale shifting of foreign obligations would destroy the salutary counterpoise hitherto existing in Hispanic America between Europe and the United States, and would indirectly tend to the commercial and economic hegemony of the latter. It would be ingenuous to ignore the existence of such a fear among certain of our sister republics—a fear which our commercial rivals have oftentimes been at pains to encourage. It can only be dissipated by such professions and practices on the part of the govern-

ment of the United States and its citizens as will remove all cause for suspicion.

An encouraging feature of the public addresses was the frank recognition on the part of a number of the delegations that certain conditions must voluntarily be met if Hispanic America is to be an attractive field for American enterprise. "I can declare", said Dr. Sampaio in this connection, "that the program of the Brazilian government is to reduce public expense, improve the fiscal system, realize the equilibrium of the budget, contract loans exclusively for reproductive purposes, reorganize the banking system to give more elasticity to the currency, and abandon once and for all the practice of issuing inconvertible currency. By so doing we will gradually effect a sane basis of our monetary system and the improvement of our finances. Our purpose will be to increase production and reduce imports, to stabilize exchange, pay interest on loans and fill gaps left by deficits."

To the writer of this article one of the most striking features of the Conference was the tacit recognition of the importance of Hispanic American studies in the United States at the present time. One of the essential cogs in the machinery of the Conference was the secretaries of the group committees. They were chosen for their familiarity with the economic and financial conditions of the countries to whose committees they were assigned; they were expected to be purveyors of useful information during the sessions of the Conference, and were entrusted with the delicate task of drawing up the group conference reports. Their social duties, though pleasant, were at times arduous, and even trying. It is surely a tribute to the large place occupied by Hispanic American studies in the domain of American historical scholarship that fully one half of the group secretaries were either teachers of Hispanic American history or had won distinction as writers or investigators in this field. Dr. W. E. Dunn and Dr. C. H. Cunningham, secretaries respectively of the Colombian and Mexican groups, represented the University of Texas; although Dr. Dunn has just accepted the highly responsible position of editor of the Latin American section of one of the great New York dailies. Dr. C. H. Haring, of the Venezuelan group, is a member of the faculty of Yale University, while Dr. J. A. Eppinger of the Panama group is professor at the University of Illinois. Mr. C. L. Chandler of the Bolivian group is an enthusiastic investigator of the early relations between South America and the United States; he is also publicity agent of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. Dr. Dana G. Munro, of the Guatemala group,

in his recent monograph, *The Five Republics of Central America*, has placed all students in the Hispanic American field under very real obligation. Dr. Harry Bard of the Peruvian group has for many years not only preached the gospel of Pan Americanism, but has also carried it out into practice as educational advisor of the Peruvian government. Nor should it of course be forgotten that the Secretary-General of the Conference, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, to whose unremitting efforts the success of the Conference was in no small measure due, was for a long period a member of the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. The part taken by these men in a conference devoted primarily to the solution of financial and economic problems, illustrates again—if further illustration is necessary—the number and variety of contacts which the teacher and scholar of today has established with the practical affairs of life.¹

It is a commonplace remark apropos of Pan American assemblies that the most satisfactory results come from the opportunities for close association frequently ripening into friendship among the delegates and members. The Conference at Washington was no exception to the rule. Both official and social gatherings were characterized by a genuine cordiality and a sincere desire to establish permanent points of contact. Perhaps the most striking instance was the luncheon given by the distinguished Argentine scholar and statistician Dr. Alejandro Bunge to a representative group of teachers and investigators in the field of Hispanic American history and institutions. The burden of the addresses delivered on this occasion was the vital need of a still closer cultural and intellectual rapprochement among the members of the scholarly fraternity of the Americas. The presence of Dr. Bunge at the Conference and his contemplated visit to a large number of our leading institutions of learning, showed that such a consummation was already in a fair way towards being realized.

Any attempt to appraise the tangible and permanent results of the Second Pan American Financial Conference would of course at this time be premature. Yet one may safely hazard the prophesy that the carrying out of any considerable part of the eighteen recommendations adopted at the closing session will more than justify the existence of the Conference. The general purport of these recommendations may

¹ Professor Martin's modesty has led him to omit all mention of his own position in the Hispanic American field—a position which has been won by his ability as an investigator, writer, and teacher. He is among the very few recognized authorities in the United States on the history of Brazil.—J. A. R.

be made clear by a brief summary of their more striking features. The Conference urged: an increase in the freight and passenger ocean service on the lines laid down in the admirable report of the special committee on transportation; improved postal and telegraph facilities; a modification of our state banking laws to permit the operation of branches of Hispanic American banks in the United States; the increased use of acceptances in financial transactions involving the export and import of goods; the universal adoption of the international gold clearance fund convention; the elimination of certain inequalities and injustices in the tax of individuals and corporations doing business in Hispanic America; the ratification by the remaining American countries of the conventions for the registration and protection of patents and trademarks; the further extension of the system of commercial attachés; the taking of a decennial census by all the nations of the Americas; the universal adoption of the metric system; the adoption by all the American countries of the plan of arbitration of commercial disputes in effect between the Chambers of Commerce of Buenos Aires and the United States. A particularly important recommendation was to the effect that the importation of raw material into any country should not be prevented by prohibitive duties. The Brazilian delegation voted for this recommendation with the reservation that to raw materials be added foodstuffs. Finally in harmony with the proposal of Dr. Tejada of Bolivia the Conference recommended that the banking interests of the United States study the possibilities of financial relief to Europe by repaying Hispanic American obligations held in Europe by means of new loans granted in the United States to the respective Hispanic American countries.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the list of recommendations adopted by the Conference embodied constructive suggestions looking to at least a partial solution of practically all the problems laid before the Conference for deliberation. The success of the International High Commission—whose name has been changed into the Inter-American High Commission—in securing the adoption of so many of the recommendations of the First Pan American Financial Conference, justifies the hope that the work of the Second Pan American Financial Conference will be even more fruitful and enduring.

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PORTS OF CHILE

The following description of the ports of Chile was written by Mr. Grosvenor M. Jones while Assistant Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and is reprinted from *Commerce Reports* (no. 150, June 27, 1919, pp. 1619-1627) published daily by the above-mentioned Bureau.

Chile has a long coast line which extends from about 18 degrees to 56 degrees south latitude. The so-called continental section of Chile extends from approximately the 18th to the 42d parallel, while the insular or archipelago section extends from about the 42d to the 56th parallel. In this long stretch of coast there are numerous ports. Because of the close proximity of the Andes to the ocean and the scarcity of deep rivers, the Chilean coast has few deep indentations. Practically all of the Chilean ports are, therefore, more or less open and are exposed either to the southwest swell, which is an almost constant factor, or to the so-called "northers", which come several times a year and generally with disastrous effect; and in some cases they are exposed to both.

In the extreme north is the port of Arica, which lies in the disputed border Province of the same name, and is the terminus of the Arica-La Paz railroad. At the extreme south is Punta Arenas on the Straits of Magellan. Between these extremes comes a large number of ports, which can for convenience be divided into five main groups.

First, in geographical order from north to south, comes a group of ports which are used chiefly for the exportation of nitrates and minerals. This group includes Pisagua, Junín, Caleta Buena, Iquique, Tocopilla, Gatico, Mejillones, Antofagasta, Caleta Coloso, and Taltal. These ports are in the northern section of Chile and in the so-called nitrate zone.

To the south of this section are the ports of Chañaral, Caldera, Huasco, Cruz Grande, Coquimbo, and Guayacán, which are given over very largely to the exportation of minerals. At Caldera, Huasco, and Coquimbo there is also a large traffic in agricultural products.

The next group to the south includes Valparaiso, San Antonio, Constitución, Talcahuano, Penco, and Tomé, which serve the agricultural districts of the central zone of Chile. In this zone there are certain small river ports which are devoted largely to traffic in agricultural products, lumber, etc.

The next group, Coronel, Lota, and Lebú, are used chiefly for the handling of coal which is produced in large quantities in the districts contiguous to these ports.

Next in geographical order are the ports which serve the agricultural and timber districts of the southern section of the continental portion of Chile. These are Corral, Valdivia, and Puerto Montt. On the northerly islands of the archipelago which extends from Puerto Montt to Punta Arenas, Ancud is the only port of any importance.

Finally comes the port of Punta Arenas on the Straits of Magellan. This port has a large trade in wool, hides, canned and frozen mutton, and other products of the sheep and cattle industry.

With a few exceptions, all of the above-mentioned ports have some harbor works, but these are not extensive at any ports except Valparaiso and San Antonio, at both of which extensive improvements are now in progress. Large improvements are projected for several other ports, including Antofagasta, Arica, and Constitución.

At Valparaiso a small proportion of the ships moor at the old customhouse wharves and the new coal pier, while at Valdivia all vessels moor at the quays. In practically all other Chilean ports all transfer of cargo is effected by means of lighters. The lighterage method is preferred because it is best adapted to conditions prevailing in the open ports, is cheaper as compared with the cost of construction and maintenance of extensive harbor works, is more flexible, and is, on the whole, more efficient in the loading and discharge of vessels with small cargoes to be transferred at a single port.

In the following description of the Chilean ports the geographical order from north to south is followed.

Arica is the most northerly port of Chile. It serves the Province of Tacna, title to which has been in dispute with Peru for nearly 40 years. Arica is the ocean terminus of the Arica-La Paz railroad. Since this railroad is the shortest route between the Pacific coast and the principal commercial and mining centers of Bolivia, it has a large and increasing inbound transit traffic in general merchandise, as well as outbound traffic in copper, tin, and other minerals produced in Bolivia. The harbor has a certain natural protection against the southwest swell in the island of Alacran and the reef which extends shoreward from that island. Shipping is seldom disturbed, either by the southwest swell or northers, in this harbor. Vessels anchor in the roadstead and receive and discharge cargo by means of lighters. There is one pier which is equipped with cranes and is used by lighters.

Pisagua is a major port located in the southeastern section of a small bay about 72 miles south of Arica. Although it remains one of the chief ports in northern Chile, Pisagua has lost considerable prestige in recent years as a result of the development of the adjacent ports of Junín and Caleta Buena, and by reason of earthquakes and fire. The bay is well protected against northers as well as the south-west swell, and has good anchorage within 1800 feet of the shore. Apparently the only drawback is the fact that heavy gusts of wind frequently develop in the south, causing vessels to ride somewhat uneasily in the anchorage. The principal traffic consists of nitrate shipments. Cargo is transferred between ship and shore by means of lighters.

Junín is the least important of the nine nitrate ports, but it handles a considerable volume of traffic in the course of a year. The port consists of a small open cove, which has little shelter from the south-west swell and therefore experiences a considerable number of surf days. Ships usually anchor about one-quarter of a mile from shore in depths varying from 96 to 108 feet. All transfer of cargo is effected in the roadstead by means of lighters.

Caleta Buena ranks fourth among the nine nitrate ports. The name of the port indicates that it is a good harbor, and such is the case, since the cove is free from dangers to shipping and the surf seldom delays loading. Ships usually anchor in 72 to 108 feet of water about half a mile from shore. The piers are used only by the lighters which transfer the cargo between ships and the shore. The piers have excellent handling facilities and there is abundant warehousing space for the storage of nitrates, in addition to tanks, with a capacity of nearly 6000 tons, for the storage of oil.

Iquique is the port and capital city of the Province of Tarapacá. It ranks third among the ports of Chile in volume and value of foreign commerce. Until comparatively recent years Iquique ranked second among Chilean ports. It is still the leading port in shipments of nitrates, although its predominance is not so marked as formerly. With regard to safety and facility in loading and discharging cargo, Iquique is excelled by only one of the nitrate ports, namely, Mejillones. The port is protected on the south by Iquique Island, which is about one-third of a mile in length, and by an artificial breakwater, about 1500 feet long, which connects the island with the mainland. Another breakwater, extending in an easterly direction from the island toward the reef, helps to form a small inner harbor. The more active

section of the harbor is to the north of this basin and derives little benefit from either of these breakwaters. The roadstead has good accommodations and secure holding ground in moderate depth for ships. There is a considerable number of small piers which are used only by lighters. All transfer of cargo to and from ships is effected in the roadstead by means of lighters.

Tocopilla is situated about 120 miles south of Iquique and 130 miles north of Antofagasta. The port lies in the southeast section of a deep cove, which is surrounded on all sides by high cliffs and is well protected against the southwest swell by a rocky peninsula known as Algodonales Point and by a chain of rocks extending therefrom. The depths in the cove range from 60 to 180 feet and there is good anchorage within half a mile of the railroad pier. The power plant of the Chile Copper Co., an American concern, is located at this port. There are a number of excellent piers with complete handling equipment, but ships never moor at these piers. All transfer of cargo is effected in the roadstead by means of lighters. There are several oil-pipe lines used in connection with the storage tanks of the Union Oil Co., the International Petroleum Co., and the power plant of the Chile Copper Co.

Gatico lies in a small cove about 30 miles south of Tocopilla and derives practically all of its importance from its proximity to copper mines and from the location of a smelter there. The cove is easy of access, has good anchorage in about 96 feet a short distance from shore, and has few surf days. All loading and discharging of cargo is done by means of lighters.

Mejillones is, all things considered, the best port in Chile, if not on the entire west coast of South America. It is located in the southern section of a well protected bay of the same name, about 61 miles north of Antofagasta by water, and about 43 miles by rail. Although it serves the same district as that served by the port of Antofagasta, and although in practically every respect it is far superior to that port, nevertheless Antofagasta has developed much faster and far outdistances Mejillones in importance. There are a number of excellent piers and extensive warehouses for storage of nitrates at this port, which is used to a large extent for the overflow of the Antofagasta traffic. Ships could moor at most of the piers of this port, but they seldom do so. The traffic between ship and shore is generally handled by means of lighters.

In point of volume, as well as value of cargo, Antofagasta ranks second among the ports of the west coast of South America, Valparaiso

being the only port with a greater volume or value of traffic. Antofagasta is commonly regarded as merely a transshipment point for nitrate. In point of nitrate traffic, Antofagasta was outranked by Iquique in the years 1915, 1916, and 1917, and by Mejillones in the year 1917. With the development of the near-by mines of the Chile Copper Co., Antofagasta is becoming one of the principal ports for copper shipments. Then, too, its rail connection with the rich mineral districts of Bolivia adds to the advantages of this port and helps to explain its progress. The port consists of an open roadstead located in the center of Moreno Bay. The roadstead is well protected against north winds but is quite exposed to the wind and swell from the southwest. Antofagasta is therefore one of the poorest places for anchorage on the entire west coast and is practically as bad in this respect as Mollendo, Peru. Another disadvantage of the port of Antofagasta is the location of a number of rocks close to the approaches to the port and to the anchorage ground. There are a number of good piers in the inner harbor, which is formed by a line of rocks that extend into the roadstead for about 1800 feet. These piers are, however, used only for transferring freight to and from lighters. The Chilean Government has plans for extensive port works for Antofagasta, and it is probable that in the course of a few years an extensive breakwater and several piers will be built.

Situated on the same bay as Antofagasta and only 9 miles south of this well-known port, Caleta Coloso has experienced much the same fate as Mejillones, and is therefore little known. The existence of this port depends entirely on the nitrate trade. The town itself is quite small, and its proximity to Antofagasta gives it little opportunity for independent development. The port lies in a little cove in the southeastern corner of Moreno Bay. It is sheltered against the strong southerly winds, but is open to the northers. All transfer of cargo is effected in the roadstead by means of lighters.

Taltal is about 110 miles south of Antofagasta and is the most southerly of the nitrate ports. The traffic movement is heavy and includes large quantities of copper as well as nitrates. The port is situated on a small bay or cove of the same name, which is protected on the south by Taltal Point, a low-lying promontory, and a reef which extends in a northwesterly direction for about half a mile. There is a safe anchorage in 30 to 60 feet of water about 1500 feet from shore. There are a number of excellent piers at this port, but they are used only by the lighters. All ships anchor in the roadstead and use lighters for the transfer of cargo.

Chañaral is at present relatively unimportant, but it will soon have considerable traffic. The Andes Copper Mining Co., an American corporation, is developing extensive copper properties in the vicinity of this port and contemplates the construction of extensive port facilities. The harbor is small, but is fairly well protected toward the south. There are comparatively few surf days. All transfer of cargo is effected by means of lighters.

Caldera was of great importance about a half century ago. The first railroad built in South America extended from this port to the capital of the Province, and was built by an American, William Wheelwright, who planned to extend the railroad across the Andes into Argentina. There were a number of important mines in the vicinity of Caldera, but as they have become exhausted the port has declined in importance. The harbor is one of the best on the entire coast and is used as a winter headquarters of the Chilean Navy. There is an excellent pier with complete handling equipment, but this is used only by lighters.

Although a major port, Huasco ranks relatively low among the ports of Chile in total value of foreign trade. It lies on Huasco Bay, at the mouth of the river of the same name. This river provides the means of irrigating a valley that is noted for its wines and raisins. Large quantities of hay are also produced in this region, most of which is shipped to other sections of Chile. The production of copper and silver in the Huasco district is also important. Although the bay is well protected from the southwest swell by high hills which lie to the westward, it is quite open to the north, and suffers considerably from northerly winds. Loading is frequently interrupted by northerly winds from May to September. All loading and discharging of cargo is done by means of lighters.

Cruz Grande is one of the most recently developed ports in Chile and has the most modern docks to be found on the entire west coast. Cruz Grande derives its importance from its proximity to the great iron-ore deposits of Tofo, which are being developed by the Bethlehem Steel Co., of the United States. With relief in ocean shipping conditions, it is probable that hundreds of thousands of tons of iron ore will be handled at this port. The port has been made to order. A basin 1000 feet long, 240 feet wide, and 40 feet deep at mean low water has been excavated out of the solid rock in the southern section of a small cove. Large ore-loading bins have been built on one side of this basin and ore can be handled from bin to ship nearly as rapidly as on

the Great Lakes at Duluth and Two Harbors. A modern electric railroad with low grades has been built to carry the ore down from the mines to the port. Ships will moor along the walls of this basin and receive cargo by gravity direct from the bins.

The relative importance of Coquimbo is not so great as formerly, when the near-by copper smelters were the largest in Chile, but it still remains an important trade center for rich agricultural sections as well as for certain mining districts. Coquimbo is an excellent port, one of the best in Chile. It is well protected both against the southwest swell and northers. There are several excellent piers, as well as an extensive quay wall, but ships generally anchor in the bay and use lighters for the transfer of cargo.

Guayacán lies on a small landlocked bay which is separated from Coquimbo Bay by a hilly peninsula averaging about a mile in width. The bay is well protected and has excellent depths. A smelter and chemical works are located on this bay. Ships load and unload by means of lighters.

Valparaíso is the principal port on the entire west coast, and derives much of its importance from its proximity to Santiago, the capital and metropolis of the Republic, and from the fact that it serves a rich agricultural and mining district. The harbor is situated on Valparaíso Bay, which is semicircular in form and is large enough to accommodate a vast amount of shipping. It is well protected except toward the north, the only difficulties in shipping occurring during the winter season when heavy northers are liable to occur. Extensive port works have been in process of construction for a number of years. These include a breakwater, which will further protect the port on the south, a long quay wall, and a large coal pier. For many years the port has had a fine mole, about 1000 feet in length, adjacent to the customhouse. The largest steamers can load and discharge cargoes at this wharf, which is equipped with light railways and cranes of all sizes. The depth alongside varies from 36 to 48 feet on the east side, and from 21 to 27 feet on the west side. The mole is used to a considerable extent, but the majority of ships anchor in the roadstead, which is provided with a number of mooring buoys, there being insufficient space at the mole to accommodate many ships. The use of lighters is, therefore, very extensive at this port.

About 50 miles south of Valparaíso is the port of San Antonio, which has been developed on a considerable scale in recent years. San Antonio is connected with Santiago by railroad, a distance of

117 kilometers (72.7 miles), which has lower grades than the railroad between Valparaiso and Santiago, and is therefore preferred for the transportation of bulk commodities between the seaboard and the capital. San Antonio is regarded as a rival of Valparaiso; but while it will attract some of the commerce of the older port, particularly that in coal and cereals, it will probably never seriously impair the standing of Valparaiso. Extensive port works have been constructed in recent years. They consist of a breakwater which forms a basin well protected against the prevailing south winds. In addition there is a pier 650 feet long, with depths alongside of from 28 to 30 feet. There is a smaller basin in the inner section of the harbor with a depth of only 10 feet, which is used only by lighters that moor to a pier 330 feet long. Plans for this port contemplate other piers as the commerce develops. The principal traffic of the port is inbound and consists of coal brought from the ports of Coronel, Lota, and Lebu for the gas plant, electric lighting works, and other industries in Santiago. San Antonio is also an outlet for the rich agricultural districts of the central Provinces of Chile, which produce large quantities of wheat, wine, and similar products. Cargo is generally handled at this port by means of lighters.

Constitución is one of the few river ports of Chile, being situated on the south bank of the Maule River about a mile above its mouth. The Maule is a wide and fairly deep river, which is navigable for many miles by shallow-draft vessels, but unfortunately a bar has formed at its mouth and only vessels of shallow draft can enter at all seasons of the year. The depth of the river on the bar varies from 11 to 16 feet. Because of this fact the traffic of the port is somewhat small and is carried chiefly by shallow-draft steamers. The transfer of cargo is generally effected by means of lighters. The port has practically no handling facilities, but the Government plans extensive improvements during the next 10 years. The approach to the river is by way of Las Cañas Bay, which is well protected and offers good anchorage. There is a large traffic in lumber at the port of Constitución. The port has a number of small shipyards for the construction of lighters and other small wooden craft.

Talcahuano is the most important port south of Valparaiso, and is the chief naval base of Chile. It is situated in the southwest corner of Concepción Bay, which is probably the largest and best protected bay on the entire west coast of South America, extending about 6 miles from north to south, and about the same distance from east to

west. A lofty rocky peninsula protects the bay on the south, while a large island, situated in the mouth of the bay, offers protection to the west and north. In spite of the protecting influence of this island, severe northers cause disturbances in the bay. The naval docks are quite extensive and efficient, but the commercial port can not be called modern. There is a long concrete quay wall, which is provided with a number of cranes and a few wharf sheds, but only small bay steamers moor at this quay. The larger ships anchor in the bay and receive and discharge cargo by means of lighters.

Penco is located on the eastern side of Concepción Bay. Penco has a sugar refinery and a few other small industries. Raw sugar is brought from Peruvian ports to Penco in coasting steamers. This port has the same advantages, in the matter of protected waters, as Talcahuano, except that north winds cause more disturbance on the Penco side of the bay. The shallowness of the bay near the shore at Penco has necessitated the construction of a long pier. All transfer of cargo is made by means of lighters.

Tomé is also on the east side of Concepción Bay on a little cove near the main channel entrance. Tomé serves an agricultural section that produces large quantities of grain and wine. There are also several textile mills in this town. The cove at Tomé is small and the port is somewhat more exposed than Penco. All transfer of cargo is by means of lighters.

Coronel is one of the three principal ports serving the coal district of southern Chile, the others being Lota and Lebu. Coronel is located on a small cove which is fairly well protected toward the north, but has little or no protection against the southern winds. Since southern winds prevail, the traffic is frequently interrupted, specially about mid-day. The principal traffic of the port consists of outbound shipments of coal. All cargo is transferred by means of lighters, which receive the coal at the several piers owned by coal companies.

Like the near-by port of Coronel, Lota is situated on a small cove of the Gulf of Arauco. Its chief traffic consists of coal, which is handled between pier and ship by means of lighters, although small steamers sometimes moor at the piers. The anchorage ground is small and, although free from dangers, is exposed to the southwest and northerly winds.

Lebu is the third of the coal ports of Chile. It is located on the south bank of the Lebu River, near its mouth. The entrance to the river is through a small cove, which affords a certain amount of pro-

tection. Ships generally anchor in the cove at the mouth of the river, since the river at this point is only about 100 feet wide and has usable depths of not more than 5 or 6 feet at mean low water. Cargo is handled from the several coal piers by means of lighters.

Corral is located at the mouth of the Valdivia River, which is navigable for ships of small draft as far as Valdivia, the commercial metropolis of this section of Chile. Corral may be regarded as the ocean port for Valdivia, since there is practically no traffic inward or outward from Corral except that for Valdivia. There is a small blast furnace at Corral, which was built by a French company, but which has not been in operation for a number of years. There are several small piers which are used by the river boats plying between Corral and Valdivia. The larger ships visiting this port, however, anchor in the bay and transfer cargo by means of lighters.

Valdivia is the capital of the Province of the same name. It serves an extensive territory comprising a large section of the coast from Lota as far south as Puerto Montt. The traffic of this port is handled chiefly by small steamers and by tows of lighters which operate between Corral and Valdivia. Corral is only 12 miles distant. The prevailing depth in the river between the two ports does not exceed 8 feet. The Chilean Government has plans for the deepening of the river so as to permit larger vessels to ascend as far as Valdivia. There is a small amount of traffic on the river above Valdivia, but this consists chiefly of firewood from the interior timber districts, which is carried in shallow crafts. This port has splendid concrete wharves of recent construction, to which the small steamers and launches can moor. The wharves are well equipped with handling facilities.

Puerto Montt is the most southerly port in the main or continental section of Chile. It serves the southerly section of the hinterland of the port of Valdivia, and in addition the numerous islands that extend from this point to the Straits of Magellan. The port is located on a bay of the same name, which is about 4800 feet in length. The bay has moderately secure depths, but the range of tide is quite high, being as much as 21 feet. The port is used chiefly by coasting boats, which anchor in the roadstead and receive and discharge cargo by means of lighters. There is a quay wall of rather recent but poor construction, which is of very little value to shipping.

In the distance of nearly 900 miles between Puerto Montt and Punta Arenas there is only one harbor of commercial importance, namely Ancud, on the island of Chiloé, the largest of the islands of

the archipelago. The port is situated on an extensive and well-protected bay which is comparatively free from storms and heavy winds. The anchorage in the port, however, is usable only for vessels not exceeding 13 feet draft. All cargo is handled by means of lighters.

Punta Arenas is not only the most southerly port in Chile but the most southerly port of commercial importance in the world. The port is situated on the widest portion of the Straits of Magellan, about 195 miles from the western end and 110 miles from the eastern end. Its importance is explained not only by its location on this important highway but also by its proximity to the rich pastoral lands of the extreme southerly section of the South American Continent. In this district sheep raising has been developed on an extensive scale in recent years, and large quantities of frozen mutton, hides, and wool are now shipped through the port of Punta Arenas. The port is comparatively safe except on a few occasions when there are southwest winds. These winds generally occur in the months of December, January, and February and continue three or four days. The traffic of the port is handled at two piers, which belong to private individuals and are used only by lighters. The system of handling is slow, antiquated, and burdensome for commerce. The anchorage is safe, and ships at anchor need take precaution only against the southwest winds.

GROSVENOR M. JONES.

NOTES ON THE WORK OF DR. CARLOS ENRIQUE PAZ-SOLDÁN Y PAZ-SOLDÁN

Whoever is at all familiar with Peruvian history and literature knows and honors the name of Paz-Soldán. It is that of one of the greatest and noblest Peruvian families. My purpose here, however, is not that of expatiating on the accomplishments of past members of this family; rather, it is that of describing briefly something of the invaluable work of a living Paz-Soldán.

Dr. Carlos Enrique Paz-Soldán represents that type of young Peruvian on whom the imminent future greatness of his country depends. He is by profession a practicing physician, a very skillful one as I believe. In addition, however, to his professional duties, he has undertaken others strictly scientific in character and of the utmost importance. Dr. Paz-Soldán realizes that one of the fundamental needs of Peru and her people is for a greater degree of sanitation and for a stricter observance of the rules of public hygiene. To the propagation of that realization among his fellow countrymen, Dr. Paz-Soldán

devotes a large measure of his time and strength. Using the pseudonym of "Dr. Percy", he has for years been publishing in the chief papers of Lima simply phrased articles upon points of importance from the point of view of public health. It is quite certain that they have had important good results among all classes. In addition to those articles, he has written *La medicina social* (Lima 1916) and *Las bases médico-sociales de la legislación sanitaria del Perú* (Lima, 1918, 2 volumes, with a prologue by Dr. José Penna). The first volume of this work is of capital importance for historians for the reason that it contains a masterly summary of the history of sanitary legislation in Peru from the time of the Conquest down to the present day. It will reveal the fact that, from the earliest years of the Colonial period, the viceroys and other high officials were sincerely trying to bring about effective sanitation and prevalent public health. Naturally, their efforts were hindered by a lack of technical scientific information, but the good desire was there. In order to ensure proper sanitary and medical administration, Philip II, established, by a cédula dated January 11, 1579, the *Real Tribunal del Protomedicato*. This institution was an American branch of an institution borrowed by Spain from the Arabs. In some respects, its functions resembled those of the Red Cross. It was the official medical body and its social purposes were fundamentally benevolent.

Dr. Paz-Soldán is untiring in his efforts to build up the health and physical welfare of Peru. When Dr. Henry Hanson, formerly of the Panama Canal Sanitary Commission, and General William C. Gorgas were in Peru (June–October, 1919), Dr. Paz-Soldán did his utmost, as did many other Peruvian doctors, to help them in every possible way, a fact which is fully recognized by Dr. Gorgas and Dr. Hanson. The work of the Peruvian doctors referred to and of their North American collaborators was particularly directed against yellow fever, and too much can not be said in praise of such men as Dr. Paz-Soldán of Lima, the officials of the Dirección de Salubridad, and Dr. Quiroz of Piura, as well as numerous other Peruvian doctors, who fought that dreaded disease. Such Peruvians as these are the ones who will send their country ahead by leaps and bounds.—PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

THE FOUNDING OF SANTANDER, COLOMBIA

Sharp economic rivalries marked the founding of Santander, Colombia. An interesting review of the early history of this town appears in a paper presented by Rufino Gutiérrez to the Academia Nacional de

Historia of Colombia, and published in July, 1919 by H. C. Prado of Santander.¹

In his introduction Sr. Prado says that some authors have attributed the founding of Santander to Sebastian Belalcázar under the name Jamaica de los Quilichaos in the year 1543, but the present report shows that the town was founded in the middle of the eighteenth century under the name San Antonio de Quilichao. In the seventeenth century the site of Santander was a cattle ranch belonging to Pedro de Moriones, from whom it passed to Luis de Sandoval and Paula de Moriones, and later to the descendants of the Sandovals. In 1733 the owners then living on the land made a formal donation of the rights they possessed in the remaining undivided property in favor of the church of San Antonio de Quilichao.

Sr. Gutiérrez gives as the source of his data three volumes entitled "Poblaciones" found in the national Salón de la Colonia. The first record refers to Quilichao in 1746 as a town of eight or ten houses, occupied by the descendants of the Sandovals. By 1750 the town was building a church, and petitioning the church authorities at Cali for permission to have the sacraments celebrated in Quilichao. The desired permission was granted, with the formal approval of the Bishop of Popayan.

The development of Quilichao aroused the jealousy of the mine-owners in the neighboring community of Quinamayó, who had theretofore enjoyed a monopoly of the sale of food and liquors to the miners. Consequently, the mineowners presented a petition to the governor, protesting against the trade of the people of Quilichao with the mine employees, and requesting that the Quilichao church be demolished, as there were plenty of other churches in the neighboring settlements. As a clinching argument, the mineowners alleged that the site of Quilichao was of insufficient area for a real town.

Not wishing to act hastily, the governor asked the neighboring town of Caloto to make a report on the Quilichao situation. But this report was delayed, and shortly before its receipt in 1753 the governor ordered the residents of Quilichao to leave their town and remove to Caloto, on

¹ "Apuntes para la Historia General del Asiento de San Antonio de Quilichao, hoy Santander", by H. C. Prado; "Informe al Señor Presidente de la Academia Nacional de Historia," by Rufino Gutiérrez. 1919. (An appendix of "Documentos" includes an "Auto de repartimiento de estancias, quadras y solares" for the year 1588, and copies of requests for church privileges for Quilichao from protocols of 1751 and 1753.)

pain of having their houses torn down or burned. The people of Quilichao were also forbidden to sell goods to the negro miners, or to barter with them for gold. However, certain friendly officials in Caloto succeeded in getting a decision from the governor in 1754 that the people of Quilichao should not be expelled, but that they should cease all traffic with the workmen or slaves in the Quinamayó mines. The miners appealed from this decision to Viceroy Solis, who after hearing both sides in July, 1755, decided that San Antonio de Quilichao should enjoy the title and rights of a "villa", with a mayor and judge.

For thirty years the town of Quilichao was torn by the ambition of its own citizens in conflict with the jealousy of its neighbors. In 1780 the lieutenant governor addressed the king of Spain, requesting justice for Quilichao, and complaining of the authorities in Bogotá, Popayán, and Caloto. The king asked for more information, and again, in 1802, he asked for a report on this subject. In a document dated July, 1806, containing references to previous orders, the viceroy is given strict instructions to "immediately put into execution orders to relieve the residents of Quilichao from the extortions and injuries imposed by the people of Caloto".

MYRA C. HOLE.

CHILE-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION MINING SCHOLARSHIP

A forward step has been taken in encouraging the inter-American educational movement by the Chile-American Association of New York. Chile has been sending students to the United States in growing numbers. Some of them are following full university courses with a view to preparation for careers in the learned professions. More, however, have elected to pursue technical courses with a view to fitting themselves for industrial and commercial life. The Association, since its organization in 1918, has been in touch with these students and has coöperated with them. Impressed with the value of these educational efforts, the Association recently decided to broaden its field and encourage the coming of Chilean students to the United States in a permanent manner. It determined to establish scholarships which would enlarge the opportunities. The initial measure for this purpose is the establishment of the Chile-American Association Mining Scholarship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Funds were appropriated both for travel expenses and for expenses at the Institute for a full three years' course leading up to a graduate degree. The financial

provision is liberal and assures the student maintenance during the course. Importance was attached to the method of selecting the one who should enjoy the benefit of the scholarship. In order that there should be full opportunity to ambitious and deserving young Chileans who have decided to follow mining as a career, it was provided that the selection should be made by competitive examination from among recently graduated students of Chilean mining schools, the competition to be arranged by the President of the Republic in coöperation with members of the Association in Chile. The successful competitor will then be formally designated by the President. The management of the scholarship will be under the direction of the members of the Association in the United States in coördination with the Ambassador of Chile in Washington. The Chile-American Association comprises in its membership leading North American Companies, having investments which are employed in the development of Chile's natural resources, and also the principal firms engaged in business between Chile and the United States. The general work is under the supervision of Charles M. Pepper as Director. The Association also has a notable list of honorary members. These are Señor Beltran Mathieu, Ambassador of Chile in the United States; Hon. Joseph H. Shea, American Ambassador in Chile; Elihu Root; Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Colombia University; Dr. Leo S. Rowe; Henry P. Fletcher, former American Ambassador to Chile; and Señor Emilio Edwards, Consul General of Chile in New York. This foundation is the first of this nature to be made for students from Hispanic America by a business association. Although it was determined first to establish technical scholarships, it is possible that others covering the learned professions may be founded.

THE HISPANIC AMERICAN CONFERENCE IN CLEVELAND

The conference on Hispanic American History held on the morning of Tuesday, December 30, during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Cleveland, was an interesting event. At the meeting, which was well attended, papers were read by Dr. William S. Robertson ("Hispanic American appreciation of the Monroe Doctrine"); Dr. Hiram Bingham ("The Future of the Monroe Doctrine"); and Dr. W. W. Pierson, Jr. ("Alberdi's Views on the Monroe Doctrine"). Dr. Robertson's paper was published in the February issue of this Review, and Dr. Pierson's paper, it is expected,

will be published in the issue for August. Dr. Bingham's paper will probably appear in another publication. In this paper Dr. Bingham, with great courage and because of the turn in world affairs expressed views exactly at variance with those expressed in his small volume *The Monroe Doctrine an Obsolete Shibboleth*. The author analyzed very clearly the reason for his change of thought toward the Doctrine and emphasized the necessity for its retention as a live factor in the diplomacy of the United States. The conference was presided over by Dr. Charles E. Chapman, and remarks were made by Drs. Percy A. Martin, Herbert E. Bolton, and James A. Robertson.

A NEW CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

At a meeting held in Cleveland, Tuesday, December 30, 1919, some sixty Catholic writers and students of history formed a new national historical society which henceforth will bear the name "The American Catholic Historical Association". The object of the new association is to promote study and research in the field of Catholic history. Such an Association makes it possible to bring into one body all the Catholic historical scholarship of the United States. There are six local Catholic historical societies (those of New York, Philadelphia, Portland, Me., St. Louis, Chicago, and St. Paul), devoting their energies to local Catholic history. They are all publishing excellent historical quarterlies. We have also the *Catholic Historical Review*, published at the Catholic University of America, which is now the recognized organ of all American Catholic historical activity. But all these publications are provincial or national in scope. What was needed was a society that would bring into one fold all those interested in Catholic history, without limit to time or place.

In October, 1919, letters were sent out to some seventy Catholic teachers of history in our Catholic Colleges, Academies, Seminaries, and Universities, and a response which surprised the one who had projected the Association, proved the opportuneness of the scheme. Accordingly, the meeting to organize the new society, was called for Cleveland. Some sixty Catholic historical scholars were present. Papers were read by Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday of the Catholic University of America, and by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, on the scope of the new project. A constitution was adopted, and the following officers elected: *President*, Lawrence F. Flick, M.D., LL.D.; *Vice Presidents*, Rev. Richard Tierney, S.J., and Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M.; *Secretary*,

Carlton T. H. Hayes, Ph.D.; *Treasurer*, Rt. Rev. Monsignor T. C. O'Reilly, D.D., V.G.; *Archivist*, Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday. The Executive Council includes, with the above-named officers, Rev. Gilbert P. Jennings, LL.D., Cleveland, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Joseph F. Mooney, D.D., V.G., New York City, Rev. Dr. Souvay, C.M., St. Louis, Rev. William Busch, S.T.L., St. Paul, Minn., Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, California.

A meeting of the Executive Council was held recently and it was decided to hold the 1920 Meeting, during Christmas week, at Washington, D. C. Four sections or conferences, dealing with ancient, medieval, modern, and American Catholic history, will be organized. The permanent headquarters of the Association will be the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., but the annual meetings will be held side-by-side with the American Historical Association. REV. PETER GUILDAY, PH.D.

[It is hoped that the new association will extend its efforts to Hispanic America, which offers a rich field for the history of the Catholic Missions.—J. A. R.]

The Trustees of the Hispanic Society of America announced on October 15, 1919, the death of its former secretary, Charles P. Huntington, who was also a member of the Board of Trustees.

The Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, under whose auspices *El Estudiante Latino-Americano* is published, performs various functions. One of these is the meeting of students from Hispanic America on the incoming ships, aiding them to get located in New York, advising them in regard to schools and colleges, and aiding them in reaching their destination with as little friction as possible.

The Mercantile Bank of the Americas has lately issued a small pamphlet containing a "Statement of Conditions at the close of business July 15th, 1919". This bank has affiliated banks in Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Honduras; and agencies in Ecuador, Costa Rica, Salvador, and Guatemala.

Provision has been made in the Graduate School of Yale University for the following courses in Spanish and Portuguese during the next academic year, which will probably be of interest to students of Hispanic American history:

Spanish Fiction of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.—This will be a study of the novel in the golden age of Spanish literature, especially of *Don Quixote*, supplemented by collateral reading in modern Spanish prose on the fiction of the period, and by reports written as far as possible in Spanish. Three hours first term. Professor H. R. Lang.

Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.—Lectures will be given on the dramatic art in Spain. Plays of Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and Calderón will be studied, supplemented by reports and collateral reading in modern Spanish prose on the drama of the period. Three hours second term. Professor H. R. Lang.

Spanish-American Literature.—The course will begin with lectures on the history and literature of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, and selections will be read from *La Araucana* of Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533–1594), and from the poems of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695), José Joaquín Olmedo (1780–1847), and José María Heredia (1803–1839). Following this introduction, the literatures of the Spanish-American countries in the latter half of the nineteenth century will be taken up, and lectures given on the historical background and the influence exerted by the literatures of Spain and France. One or more representative writers of each country will be especially studied. Finally, the “Modernista” movement will be considered, with especial study of its greatest representative, the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío (1867–1916). The course will be conducted in Spanish, and students will present their reports in Spanish. Two hours through the year. Professor F. B. Luquiens.

The Teaching of Spanish.—This will be a series of lectures and conferences dealing with the practical problems which confront teachers of Spanish in their class-room work, with especial attention to the most efficient methods of teaching first and second year Spanish. In addition, the students will be given an opportunity to visit class-rooms where they may see the actual application of the principles explained in the lectures. One hour through the year. Professor F. B. Luquiens.

Portuguese Literature.—This will cover the earlier epochs inclusive of the time of Camões. The course is open to advanced students having a knowledge of modern Portuguese and of the medieval literature of Castile. One hour through the year. Professor H. R. Lang.

The use of the term “Hispanic America” is gaining in popularity. Among universities that have adopted the term in announcements

are Columbia, California, and Michigan. Professor W. S. Robertson employed this terminology in his recent book, and it is used also by Professor William R. Shepherd in his forthcoming volume.

The appointment of Sr. García Calderón, as exchange professor from Chile to the United States was approved February 3, 1920.

Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of Texas, has taken over the work of Dr. W. E. Dunn who resigned recently to accept a position on the editorial staff of the *New York Sun*. Dr. Hackett was elected a corresponding member of the Hispanic Society of America in December, 1919.

Mr. P. H. Hershey organized a class for the study of Hispanic American history for the year 1919-1920 at Jefferson High School, La Fayette, Indiana. Although this was the first time such a course had been offered in this school, it started off with ten pupils, who retained their enthusiasm throughout the fall term and the course has been continued in the second term with an augmented enthusiasm and with larger plans. It is expected that a heavy enrollment will be made for this course next year.

Dr. Julius Klein, formerly chief of the Latin American Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and now Commercial Attaché for the same Bureau in Buenos Aires is lecturing in Spanish on economic matters in the University of Buenos Aires. Dr. Klein was formerly a member of the editorial board of this REVIEW.

Professor William Sweet, of De Pauw University, author of the history of Hispanic America recently reviewed in this periodical, gave a series of lectures at Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, December 7-12, 1919, under the general subject "The Introduction of Methodism into the Mississippi Valley".

Sr. J. L. Tejada S., delegate from Bolivia to the Second Pan American Financial Conference, presented a paper at the Conference under the title "El Desarrollo de las Relaciones de Comercio entre los Estados Unidos y Bolivia". During the Conference, Sr. Tejada presented a resolution

That it be recommended to the banking interests of the United States to study the possibility of giving financial relief to Europe by repaying Latin-American obligations held in Europe by means of new loans granted to the respective Latin-American countries.

The resolution was approved by the Committee on Resolutions and adopted by the Conference.

It is announced that Leland Stanford Jr. University will in the near future become a center for the study of the Great War. Through the generosity of Mr. Hoover, who is an Alumnus of the University, funds have been placed at the disposal of the History Department for the purchase of books and pamphlets dealing with every phase of the subject. Professor E. D. Adams, the head of the History Department, has spent several months in Europe collecting material, and as a result of his efforts the collection is already assuming large proportions. Hispanic America is embraced within the field of operations.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

HISPANIC AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS IN EUROPEAN CENTERS

That many Hispanic American authors look to Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona, or Paris for the publication of their works has long been well recognized. This fact relates especially to authors from those countries in which the publishing business is less developed and unable to offer as favorable conditions as European competitors. Many Hispanic American men of letters are actively and successfully engaged as publishers and editors in the capitals of France and Spain; as, for instance, Señor Blanco-Fombona, the distinguished Venezeulan, who is doing such excellent work in Madrid as director of the "Editorial-América" in bringing out the "Biblioteca Andrés Bello", "Biblioteca Ayacucho", "Biblioteca de Ciencias Políticas", and other series, thus furnishing in easily available and economic form much of the best Hispanic American literature and thought.

The World War seriously disturbed and crippled literary activities and the publishing business, not only in those countries immediately involved in hostilities but throughout the world, enormously reducing the output and limiting it largely to matter closely related to the war. It is gratifying, however, to note an increase in such enterprises, which can be readily seen by examining, even cursorily, the bibliographical reviews of France and Spain; and in regard to the field of special interest to this REVIEW, the letter of Señor Pedro Henríquez Ureña in *La Prensa* of New York, January 8, 1920, on Hispanic American activities in Paris is so interesting that we venture to extract some of the information contained therein.

América Latina, the monthly review directed by Benjamín Barrios, of Mexico, and Ventura García Calderón, the wellknown literato of Peru, is developing into one of the most influential organs of communication between Hispanic America and Europe. In the interest of his Review, Señor Barrios expects soon to pay an extended visit to South America.

The publishing houses of Paris, which, in large part, suspended their Spanish publications in 1914, are resuming their aspirations in this field. Louis Michaud has just brought out *El Dilema de la Gran Guerra* by Francisco García Calderón, which is a study of the conflicting types of civilization and ideals involved in the war. Garnier announces a complete edition of the works of one of the best known authors of America. The author's name is not announced, but it is easy to conjecture. Nilsson will undertake the publication of three series of Spanish works under the direction of Señor Hugo D. Barbagelata, of Uruguay. Alcán is issuing in the "Bibliothèque France-Amérique" French translations of selections from Spanish-American authors. In this series there have already appeared selections from Darío and Rodó.

It seems to the present writer a great misfortune that the best Hispanic American thought is not available to the English reader, not only for its intrinsic value, both cultural and practical, but in the interests of a real intellectual acquaintance with the sister republics. Certainly the lofty idealization of the Uruguayan thinker, Rodó, the vigorous interpretation of the nascent national consciousness of Argentina by Sarmiento, the critical, philosophical, and sociological thought of Ingenieros, Hostos, Arcaya, García Calderón, and others, too numerous to mention, should be before the American public, and it is most earnestly to be desired that the plans formulated for the attainment of this objective may be quickly realized.

C. K. JONES.

NOTES

LIST OF ITEMS ON HISPANIC AMERICA PUBLISHED IN COMMERCE REPORTS DURING THE MONTHS OF DECEMBER, 1919, AND JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1920

Activities of new Chilean Chamber of Commerce. No. 283, December 3.

Agricultural implements, tractors, and drainage equipment suitable for Trinidad. No. 292, December 13.

American agricultural experts for Brazil. *Id.*, and no. 24, January 29.

American Chamber of Commerce formed in Bolivia. No. 15, January 19.

Argentine area in wheat, linseed, and oats. No. 288, December 8.

Argentine carpet wools. No. 16, January 20.

- Argentine export duties for January. No. 8, January 10. *Id.* for February, No. 29, February 4.
- Argentine exports for nine months of 1919. No. 294, December 16.
- Argentine financial conditions. No. 282, December 2.
- Argentine import trade for six months. No. 11, January 14.
- The Argentine sugar crop of 1919. No. 18, January 22.
- Argentine wool-growing and manufacturing industries. No. 1, January 2.
- Bibliography on petroleum in Latin America. No. 37, February 13
- Brazilian commercial delegation to England. No. 12, January 15.
- Brazilian tariff preference continued. No. 6, January 8.
- Brazilian trade with Spain. No. 292, December 13.
- Brazil's coal imports during September. No. 282, December 2.
- British Guiana cattle for Trinidad meat trade. No. 31, February 6.
- British trade opportunities in South America. No. 18, January 22.
- Bulletin on Guayaquil market. No. 32, February 7.
- Chilean decisions applying to pharmaceutical preparations. No. 37, February 13.
- Chilean nitrate production. No. 23, January 28.
- Chile's foreign trade in 1918. No. 33, February 9.
- Coal production and consumption in Venezuela. No. 49, February 28.
- Commercial federation in the West Indies. No. 32, February 7.
- Coming market for tractors in Sao Paulo. No. 27, February 2.
- Comments on important British industries. No. 19, January 23.
- Commissioner to study South American market for industrial supplies No. 1, January 2.
- Concessions for Brazil-Cuba cable registered. No. 297, December 19.
- Construction of the Chuquisaca Railway of Peru. No. 302, December 26.
- Consular agency at Curityba, Brazil, to be closed. No. 293, December 15.
- Consumption of coal in Ecuador. No. 43, February 20.
- Continuation of Argentine embargo on sugar. No. 45, February 24.
- Copper output for September of a Peruvian company. No. 300 December 23.
- Corn crop in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. No. 287, December 8.
- Costa-Rican coffee exports. No. 302, December 26.
- Cotton crop in the Laguna district of Mexico. No. 49, February 28.
- Creation of agrarian public debt in Mexico. No. 37, February 13.
- Cuban sugar and molasses shipped to United States. No. 284, December 14.

- Current items from Mexico. No. 23, January 28; no. 31, February 6; no. 44, February 21.
- Decrease in exports of cotton from Mexico to United States. No. 305, December 30.
- Decrease in tariff via the Straits of Magellan. No. 298, December 20.
- Direct line between Genoa and Callao. No. 306, December 31.
- The Dominican cacao crop. No. 304, December 29.
- Dominican sugar mills have started grinding. No. 12, January 15.
- Dominican tobacco crop for 1919 and prospects for 1920. No. 302, December 26.
- Economic notes from Uruguay. No. 9, January 12.
- Economic resources of the Antioquia district, Colombia. No. 286, December 6.
- Ecuador's imports and exports for September. No. 1, January 2.
- Electrical goods trade of Vera Cruz. No. 30, February 5.
- Enforcement of patent medicine regulations in Cuba. No. 45, February 24.
- Establishment of a clearing house in Rio de Janeiro. No. 21, January 26.
- Establishment of Asuncion telephone service still delayed. No. 3, January 5.
- Establishment of new bottle factory in Venezuela. No. 28, February 3.
- Exemption of certain foodstuffs from Colombian import duties. No. 32, February 7.
- Expected revenues of the Mexican government for 1920. No. 304, December 29.
- Experimental voyage from Rio de Janeiro to New Orleans. No. 287, December 8.
- Exporters in Latin America. No. 300, December 23.
- Exports from Puntas Arenas, Chile, to United States. No. 298, December 20.
- Exports of coffee from Bahia, Brazil. No. 283, December 3.
- Exports of coffee from Maracaibo, Venezuela. No. 34, February 10.
- Exports of oil from Tampico for September and October. No. 292, December 13. *Id.*, for November, No. 1, January 2.
- Extending French steamship line to South America. No. 10, January 13.
- Favorable economic situation in Argentina. No. 34, February 10.
- Finnish print paper for Chile. No. 301, December 24.
- First official census of Guayaquil, Ecuador. No. 33, February 9.

- First Pan American exposition of architecture. No. 10, January 13.
- Fishing industries on west coast of Lower California. No. 293, December 15.
- Flour milling industry in Brazil. No. 31, February 6.
- Foreign commercial activities in Ecuador. No. 37, February 13.
- Foreign interest in Ecuadorean coastwise trade. No. 1, January 2.
- Foreign tariffs. Nos. 37, and 48, February 13 and 27.
- Fractional paper currency issued in Mexico. No. 21, January 26.
- Fruit-growing industry for Trinidad. No. 28, February 3.
- Fuel-oil stations in Cuba. No. 15, January 19.
- Furniture markets of eastern South America. No. 300, December 23.
- German merchant vessel arrives at Vera Cruz, Mexico. No. 291, December 12.
- Growth of Punta Arenas banks. No. 300, December 23.
- Henequin shipments from Yucatan, Mexico, during October. No. 292, January 13.
- How Nicaragua's trade with the United States is financed. No. 6, January 8.
- Important imports at Guayaquil. No. 305, December 30.
- Importers and exporters, etc., in Latin America. Nos. 286, 287, and 302, December 6, 8, and 26, and No. 24, January 29.
- Importers in Manizales, Colombia. No. 284, December 4.
- Imports of coal into Mexico. No. 46, February 25.
- Increase in Paraguayan import duties. No. 301, December 24.
- Increase in weight limit of parcel-post packages to Costa Rica. No. 303, December 27.
- Increased import duties on silver in Mexico. No. 281, December 1.
- Increased transportation facilities between Portugal and Brazil. No. 293, December 15.
- Increasing imports from the United States into Mexico. No. 10, January 13.
- Increasing premium on American dollars in Trinidad. No. 13, January 16.
- Increasing use of American sugar machinery in Trinidad. *Id.*
- Interruption of shipping at Cristobal-Colon. No. 291, December 12.
- Japanese interests purchase Chilean coal fields. No. 287, December 8.
- Latin American Trade lists. Nos. 32 and 38, February 7 and 14.
- Latin American Trade notes. Nos. 281, 285, 287, 292, 296, 299, 303, December 1, 5, 8, 13, 18, 22, and 27; nos. 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 22, and 26, January 2, 7, 12, 16, 21, 27 and 31; and nos. 29, 33, 37, 43, and 48, February 4, 9, 13, 20, and 27.

- Letter postage to Cuba. No. 37, February 13.
- List of hospitals in Latin America. No. 4, January 6.
- Manufacture and use of candles in Chihuahua. No. 20, January 24.
- Manufactures in Buenos Aires, Argentina. No. 299, December 22.
- Map of Mexican petroleum zone available. No. 300, December 23.
- Market for dress and embroidery patterns in Brazil. No. 291, December 12.
- Market for fresh fruit in southern Brazil. No. 28, February 3.
- Market in Chihuahua for fire extinguishers. No. 33, February 9.
- Market in Paraguay for pencils, pens, and inks. No. 306, December 31.
- Market for men's clothing in Peru. No. 289, December 10.
- Market for railway material (Brazil). No. 9, January 12.
- Market for ready-made clothing in Paraguay. No. 49, February 28.
- Markets for internal combustion engines in South America. No. 29, February 4.
- Markets for preserves and jellies in Latin America. No. 9, January 12.
- Medicinal plants in Bahia. No. 302, December 26.
- The Metric system in Honduras. No. 43, February 20.
- Mexican agricultural statistics. No. 36, February 12.
- The Mexican cotton and cotton goods situation. No. 292, December 13.
- Mexican duties on petroleum products. No. 33, February 9.
- Mexican legislation on foreign owned lands. No. 27, February 2.
- Mexican market for canned milk. No. 14, January 17.
- Mexican mint using steel from the United States. No. 294, December 16.
- Mexican monetary reform. No. 293, December 15.
- Mexican petroleum production. No. 17, January 21.
- Mining code of Argentina. No. 9, January 12.
- Model village for Trinidad asphalt workers. No. 49, February 28.
- More bonded warehouses for Colon. No. 32, February 7.
- Movements of sugar from Antilla, Cuba. No. 8, January 10.
- New French steamship line to west coast of South America. No. 15, January 19.
- New steamship line for Guayaquil. No. 282, December 2.
- New steamship service to Central America. No. 26, January 31.
- New tram service for Barranquilla. No. 35, February 11.
- New wireless service for Brazil. No. 39, February 16.
- Nitrate statistics from Chile. No. 291, December 12.

- Notes on Argentina's trade in chemicals. No. 27, February 2.
- November shipments of rubber from Brazil and Peru. No. 10, January 13.
- October production and shipments of Chilean nitrates. No. 298, December 20.
- Oil-bearing seeds and nuts in Guatemala. No. 32, February 7.
- Packing-house activities in Montevideo. No. 8, January 10.
- Pan American conference endorses metric system. No. 28, February 3.
- Panama Canal traffic for October. No. 293, January 15. *Id.*, for November, No. 18, January 22. *Id.* for December, No. 35, February 11.
- Paraguay railway profits. No. 293, December 15.
- Peru as an automobile market. No. 297, December 19.
- Peruvian company's output of copper bars in October. No. 306, December 31.
- Peruvian exchange during the war. No. 14, January 17.
- Peruvians interested in American schools. No. 20, January 24.
- Pier for local shipping at Colon. No. 302, December 26.
- Porto Rican exposition announced. No. 15, January 19.
- Possible market in Pernambuco, Brazil, for corsets and girdles. No. 285, December 5.
- Postage to Panama. No. 305, December 30.
- Practice of handling bills of exchange with Ecuador. No. 17, January 21.
- Private exploitation of petroleum in Argentina. No. 292, December 13.
- Production of petroleum in Trinidad. No. 303, December 27.
- Profit in sheep farming in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego. No. 300, December 23.
- Proposed increase in Uruguayan budget. No. 37, February 13.
- Proposed loan for public works in territory of Magallanes. No. 32, February 7.
- Railway extension and improvements in Brazil. No. 28, February 3.
- Receipts of the Vera Cruz custom house. No. 1, January 21.
- Recent fiscal legislation in Peru. No. 29, February 4.
- Reduction in Mexican duty on jams and preserves. No. 42, February 19.
- Repairing of docks in Mexico. No. 37, February 13.
- Repeal of certain labelling requirements in Dominican Republic. No. 39, February 16.

- Repeal of increase in Peruvian export duty on hides and skins. No. 281, December 1.
- Report on Mexican crops. No. 289, December 10.
- Rumored oil developments in Argentina. No. 33, February 9.
- Sale of coffee from German properties in Guatemala. No. 20, January 24.
- Sale of cotton goods in Ciudad Juarez. No. 14, January 17.
- Service resumed on Antofagasta and Bolivia Railway. No. 302, December 26.
- Sleeping-car service between El Paso and Mexico City. No. 5, January 7.
- Shipments of oil from Tampico district for December. No. 43, February 20.
- Spraying outfits recommended for Trinidad. No. 7, January 9.
- Statistics regarding the telegraph and telephone service in Mexico. No. 43, February 20.
- Strike in Antofagasta prevents loading of vessels. No. 296, December 18.
- Suggestions for financing Mexican trade. No. 30, February 5.
- Tables on Chilean nitrate production for 1919. No. 305, December 30.
- Tanning industry in Lima, Peru. No. 42, February 19.
- Telephones and telegraph offices in Costa Rica. No. 3, January 5.
- Trade in paint and varnish at Rosario. No. 29, February 4.
- Trade notes from Brazil. No. 289, December 10.
- Trade of Paraguay for October. No. 26, January 31.
- Trinidad government desires small incinerator. No. 17, January 21.
- Trinidad government increases salaries twenty-five per cent. No. 12, January 15.
- Trinidad legislation against profiteering. No. 41, February 18.
- United States dollar legal tender in Bolivia. No. 13, January 16.
- Uruguay invites bids for sealskin auction. No. 16, January 20.
- Use of agricultural machinery in Pernambuco. No. 37, February 13.
- Use of motor vehicles in the Dominican Republic. No. 292, December 13.
- Use of the metric system in Mexico. No. 24, January 29.
- Uses of tropical "sweet grasses" in Trinidad. No. 42, February 19.
- Value of scrap iron in Bermuda. In *Id.*
- Waterworks for towns in Trinidad. No. 306, December 31, and No. 8, January 10.

A Special Annual Report was published as follows:

Cuba. No. 25b. December 27, 1919. Pp. 20. This contains accounts for Cienfuegos, by Consul Charles S. Winans, pp. 1-9; Nueva Gerona, Isle of Pines, by Consul W. Bardel, pp. 9-12; and Nuevitas, by Consul John S. Calvert, pp. 12-20.

The following list of periodical publications issued in Brazil outside Rio de Janeiro is taken from pp. 58-64 of Special Agents Series, no. 171, of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, namely, *Brazilian Markets for Paper, Paper Products, and Printing Machinery* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918), by Robert S. Barrett. Unless otherwise specified all publications are printed in Portuguese. The publications of Rio de Janeiro appeared in the issue for February, 1920.

NEWSPAPERS IN SÃO PAULO

O Estado de São Paulo, Praça Dr. Antonio Prado; morning daily; established 1874; 12 to 20 pages, 18½ by 25½ inches; 37½-inch rolls; circulation, 53,000. Equipment: One Marinoni (French) Duplex 64-page, one Marinoni (French) 12-page, and one Albert (German) 16-page perfecting press; two Augusta (Italian), one Marinoni (French), and one Windsbrandt cylinder press; eight Fenix (German) platen presses; one automatic feeder; one Brehmer folding machine; twenty-four Mergenthalers; photo-engraving plant. Foreign subscription price, 90 milreis (\$22.50) per annum; advertising rates, 3 to 25 milreis (0.75 to \$6.25) per inch, advertising columns 1½ inches wide.

Correio Paulistano. Praça Dr. Antonio Prado; morning daily; established 1854; 10 to 12 pages. 19½ by 26 inches; 26-inch rolls; circulation, 20,000 to 25,000. Equipment: Koenig & Bauer (German) 12-page perfecting press; eight Mergenthalers; photo-engraving plant. Foreign subscription price, 60 milreis (\$15) per annum; advertising rates, 1 to 30 milreis (\$0.25 to \$7.50) per inch.

Jornal do Commercio (São Paulo edition), Direita 20; morning daily; established 1916; 10 to 16 pages, 18½ by 25½ inches; 37½-inch rolls; circulation, 8,500. Equipment: Marinoni (French) 24-page perfecting press; twelve Mergenthalers; one Mergenthaler lead caster. Foreign subscription price, 80 milreis (\$20) per annum; advertising rates, 1.25 to 2 milreis (\$0.31½ to \$0.50) per inch.

A Platea, 15 de Novembro 51; afternoon daily; established 1887; 6 to 8 pages, 18½ by 24½ inches; 24½-inch rolls; circulation 15,000 to 20,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) perfecting press; four Mergenthalers; photo-engraving plant. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 1 to 6½ milreis (\$0.25 to \$1.56) per inch.

A Gazeta, Libero Badaró 15; afternoon daily; established 1905; 6 to 8 pages. 17½ by 23½ inches; 52½ and 70 inch rolls; circulation, 12,000. Equipment: Duplex (Swiss) flat-bed perfecting press; three Mergenthalers; photo-engraving plant. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 750 reis to 15 milreis (\$0.19 to \$3.75) per inch.

Diario Popular, Rosario 1; afternoon daily; established 1884; 6 to 8 pages, 18 by 24½ inches; 24½-inch rolls; circulation, 8,500 to 10,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) 8-page perfecting press; four Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, 30 milreis (\$7.50) per annum; advertising rates, 1½ to 2 milreis (\$0.31½ to \$0.50) per inch, discount of 20 per cent if 100 milreis is used in one month.

A Capital, Direita 7; afternoon daily; established 1911; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches; circulation, 5,000. Equipment: Augsburg (German) and Voirin (French) cylinder press; Mergenthaler. Foreign subscription price, 40 milreis (\$10) per annum. Advertising rates, 750 reis to 1 milreis (\$0.19 to \$0.25) per inch.

O Combate, Largo do Riachuelo 26-b; afternoon daily; established 1915; 4 pages, 19 by 26 inches; circulation, 2,000. Equipment: Small printing plant. Foreign subscription price, 40 milreis (\$8) per annum; advertising rates, 750 reis to 2 milreis (\$0.19 to \$0.50) per inch.

A Nacão, Barão de Paranapiacaba 1 E; afternoon daily; established 1915; 4 pages, 19 by 26 inches; circulation, 1,000. Equipment: Augsburg (German) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, 40 milreis (\$10) per annum; advertising rates, 200 reis to 1 milreis (\$0.05 to \$0.25) per inch.

Fanfulla, Boa Vista 48; morning daily in Italian; established 1892; 8 to 12 pages, 17 by 24 inches; 34½-inch rolls; circulation, 24,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) 24-page perfecting press; six Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, 60 milreis (\$15) per annum; advertising rates, 2 to 25 milreis (\$0.50 to \$6.25) per inch, advertising columns 2½ inches wide.

Il Piccolo, Travessa de Commercio 2; afternoon daily in Italian; 4 pages, 18½ by 26 inches; circulation, 2,500. Foreign subscription price, 30 milreis (\$7.50) per annum; advertising rates, 500 reis to 1 milreis (\$0.125 to \$0.25) per inch.

Diario Allemão and *Deutsche Zeitung*, Libero Badaró 99; afternoon daily in Spanish and German; established 1896; 6 pages, 17½ by 23½ inches; 52½-inch rolls; circulation (estimated), 5,000 to 8,000. Equipment; Duplex 12-page flat-bed perfecting press; four typographs (German). Foreign subscription price, 30 milreis (\$7.50) per annum; advertising rates, 1 to 2 milreis (\$0.25 to \$0.50) per inch.

Diario Español, Brigadeiro Tobias 89; afternoon daily in Spanish; established 1898; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches; circulation, 2,000. Equipment: One cylinder and two platen presses. Foreign subscription price, 30 milreis (\$7.50) per annum; advertising rates, 500 reis to 1 milreis (\$0.125 to \$0.25) per inch.

Diario Oficial do Estado do São Paulo, Imprensa do Estado; official daily of the State of São Paulo; established 1890; 20 to 40 pages, 9½ by 12½ inches.

Other Publications in São Paulo

A Cigarra, São Bento 93; semimonthly illustrated magazine; established 1913; 48 pages, 7½ by 11½ inches; circulation, 12,000 to 15,000. Equipment: One Optima (Italian) and one Marinoni (French) cylinder press; Krause (German) cutting machine; Brehmer (German) stitching machine; two Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, 20 milreis (\$5) per annum; advertising rates, 120 milreis (\$30) per page, and corresponding price for divisions of page.

A Cigarra Sportiva, São Bento 93; weekly sporting journal; established 1917; 20 pages, 9½ by 12½ inches; circulation, 3,000. Foreign subscription price, 20 milreis (\$5) per annum; advertising rates, 100 milreis (\$25) per page; printed by A Cigarra.

Revista de Commercio e Industria, Direita 27; monthly journal of the Chamber of Commerce; 68 pages, 9½ by 12½ inches; circulation, 8,500. Foreign subscription price, 15 milreis (\$3.75) per annum; advertising rates, 80 milreis (\$20) per page, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per half page, 30 milreis (\$7.50) per quarter page; printed by Olegario Ribeiro & Co.

Chacaras e Quintaes, Largo do Palacio 5 B; monthly agricultural and stock journal; established 1902; 142 pages; 6½ by 9 inches; circulation, 7,000 to 10,000. Foreign subscription price, 20 francs (\$4) per annum; advertising rates, \$50 per page.

Revista do Brasil, Boa Vista 52; monthly literary review; established 1915; 130 pages, 6 by 9 inches; circulation, 2,000. Foreign subscription price, 20 milreis (\$5) per annum; advertising rates, 300 milreis (\$75) per page per annum; printed by O Estado de São Paulo.

Panoplia, Caixa Postal 177; monthly magazine devoted to art, sciences, and literature; established 1917; 96 pages, 8 by 11½ inches; circulation, 2,000. Foreign subscription price, 20 milreis, (\$5) per year; advertising rates, 80 milreis (\$20) per page.

Revista dos Tribunaes, Boa Vista 52; bimonthly legal review; established 1911; circulation, 1,500; 90 pages, 6 by 9 inches. Foreign subscription price, 40 milreis (\$10) per annum; no advertising; printed by O Estado de São Paulo.

O Parafuso, Largo Thesouro 4; illustrated weekly; established 1915; 20 pages, 9½ by 12½ inches; circulation, 3,000. Local subscription price, 10 milreis (\$2.50) per annum.

O Pirralho, São Bento 28; illustrated bimonthly; established 1910; 16 pages, 9½ by 12½ inches; circulation, 1,500. Foreign subscription price, 20 milreis (\$5) per annum.

O São Paulo Imparcial, Direita 53-A; illustrated weekly; established 1916; 10 to 12 pages, 13 by 19½ inches; circulation, 1,500. Foreign subscription price, 20 milreis (\$5) per annum.

A Vida Moderna, São Bento 28; illustrated weekly; established 1904; 32 pages, 7½ by 11½ inches; circulation, 2,500.

Revista Feminina, Praça Antonio Prado; woman's monthly; established 1913; 56 pages, 8 by 12 inches; circulation, 2,500. Foreign subscription price, 12 milreis (\$3) per annum; printed by Poci & Co.

Revista de Engenharia, Maria Antonia 79; engineering bimonthly; established 1915; 80 pages, 6½ by 9 inches; circulation, 2,000. Foreign subscription price, 15 milreis (\$3.75) per annum; advertising rates, 30 milreis (\$7.50) per page.

O Auto Paulista, São Bento 29-A; automobile monthly; established 1915; 28 pages, 9½ by 12½ inches; circulation, 3,000. Foreign subscription price, 8 milreis (\$2) per annum; advertising rates, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per page.

O Echo, Caixa Postal 398; monthly magazine; established 1901; 56 pages, 9½ by 12½ inches; circulation, 5,000. Foreign subscription price, 8 milreis (\$2) per annum.

Il Pasquino Coloniale, 15 de Noviembre 52; illustrated weekly in Italian, 28 pages, 9½ by 12½ inches; circulation, 8,000. Foreign subscription price, 10 milreis (\$2.50) per annum.

Zig Zag, São Bento 22; illustrated bimonthly; established 1917; 28 pages, 8 by 12 inches; circulation, 1,500. Foreign subscription price, 12 milreis (\$3) per annum.

Vida Artística, Consolidação 57; semimonthly theatrical journal; established 1917; 24 pages, 7 by 11 inches; circulation, 1,000. Foreign subscription price, 12 milreis (\$3) per annum.

Santa Cruz, Alameda Glott 6; religious monthly; established 1901; 44 pages, 8 by 11½ inches; circulation, 1,200. Foreign subscription price, 12 milreis (\$3) per annum; advertising rates, 180 milreis (\$45) per page per annum.

Argus, Rua Augusta 225; weekly; established 1907; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches; circulation, 3,500. Foreign subscription price, 15 milreis (\$3.75) per annum.

Le Courrier Français, Tabotinguero 123; weekly in French; established 1915; 4 pages, 19 by 26½ inches; circulation, 1,500. Foreign subscription price, 20 milreis (\$5) per annum.

Germania, Jose Bonifacio 16-A; weekly in German; established 1902; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches; circulation, 4,500. Foreign subscription price, 30 milreis (\$7.50) per annum.

O Furão; theatrical and sporting weekly; established 1914; 6 pages, 13½ by 19½ inches; circulation, 1,000.

Avicultura Moderna, Cardoso de Almeida 80; monthly poultry journal; established 1917; 28 pages, 6½ by 9½ inches; circulation, 1,000. Foreign subscription price, 12 milreis (\$3) per annum).

La Colonia, monthly in Italian; 60 pages, 6½ by 9½ inches; circulation, 2,000.

Sacciapensieri, 15 de Novembro 34; humorous bimonthly in Italian; 6 pages, 9½ by 13 inches; circulation, 1,000. Foreign subscription price, 10 milreis (\$2.50) per annum.

As Armas; monthly military magazine; circulation, 1,000.

O Pensamento, Rodrigue Silva 40; monthly free-thought magazine; established 1907; 40 pages, 6½ by 9½ inches; circulation, 5,000. Foreign subscription price, 12 milreis (\$3) per annum).

A Evolução Agrícola, Caixa Postal N. 425; monthly magazine of labor; established 1910; 24 pages, 9½ by 12½ inches.

BAHIA

A Tarde; afternoon daily; established 1913; 8 pages, 17½ by 24 inches; circulation, 12,000. Equipment: Rotary perfecting press. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 400 to 600 reis (\$0.10 to \$0.15) per 8-point line.

Jornal de Notícias; daily; established 1879; 8 pages, 17½ by 25 inches; circulation, 8,000. Equipment: Cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 200 reis to 2 milreis (\$0.05 to \$0.50) per 8-point line.

Diário de Notícias; daily; circulation, 8,000. Foreign subscription price, 60 milreis (\$15) per annum; advertising rates, 150 reis to 1 milreis (\$0.03½ to \$0.25) per 8-point line.

Jornal Moderna; temporarily discontinued. Equipment: 8-page Duplex perfecting press.

Diario de Bahia; daily; circulation, 6,000. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 300 reis to 2 milreis (\$0.075 to \$0.50) per 8-point line.

Cidade; daily; circulation, 6,000. Equipment: 8-page Duplex perfecting press (ordered). Foreign subscription price, 60 milreis (\$15) per annum; advertising rates, 300 to 400 reis (\$0.075 to \$0.10) per 8-point line.

Democrata; daily; circulation, 6,000. Foreign subscription price, 55 milreis (\$13.75) per annum; advertising rates, 300 to 400 reis (\$0.075 to \$0.10) per 8-point line.

Diario Oficial; daily official paper of State government; 16 to 24 pages, 10 by 14 inches; circulation, 1,500. Equipment: Complete printing plant, including three Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 100 to 300 reis (\$0.025 to \$0.075) per 8-point line.

Renascenca; monthly magazine; established 1916; 32 to 48 pages, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 11 inches; circulation, 6,000. Foreign subscription price, 14 milreis (\$3.50) per annum; advertising rates, 100 milreis (\$25) per page.

PERNAMBUCO

Jornal do Recife; morning and afternoon daily; established 1916; 6 to 8 pages, 17 by 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circulation 8,000 on morning edition, 2,000 on afternoon edition. Equipment: Rotary perfecting press; 4 Mergenthalers; job-printing plant. Foreign subscription price, 60 milreis (\$15) per annum; advertising rates, 150 reis to 1 milreis (\$0.03 $\frac{1}{4}$ to \$0.25) per 8-point line.

A Provincia, morning daily; established 1878; 6 to 8 pages, 17 by 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circulation, 8,000 to 10,000. Equipment: Rotary perfecting press; 2 Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 100 reis (\$0.02 $\frac{1}{4}$) per 8-point line.

Diario de Pernambuco; morning daily; established 1825; 8 pages, 17 by 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circulation, 8,000 to 10,000. Equipment: Duplex 10-page, flat-bed perfecting press. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 375 reis to 5 milreis (\$0.09 $\frac{3}{4}$ to \$1.25) per inch.

A Ordem; morning daily; established 1917; 8 pages, 15 by 22 inches; circulation 5,000 to 6,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) semirotary press; 2 Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, 40 milreis (\$10) per annum; advertising rates, 250 to 750 reis (\$0.08 $\frac{1}{4}$ to \$0.18 $\frac{3}{4}$) per inch.

Jornal Pequeno; daily; established 1899; 6 to 8 pages; circulation, 5,000. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum.

PARA

A Folha do Norte; daily. Equipment: Marinoni (French) perfecting press; two cylinder presses; two Mergenthalers.

O Estado do Para; daily. Equipment: Duplex (Swiss) flat-bed perfecting press; two Mergenthalers.

Diario Oficial; official daily of the State government. Equipment: Cylinder press and three platen presses; Mergenthaler.

Correio do Belem; daily. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press.

O Diario; daily. Equipment: Cylinder and platen presses; ruling machine.

O Echo; afternoon daily. Equipment: One cylinder press; three platen presses; ruling machine.

A Tribuna; daily.

O Momento; daily.

SANTOS

A Tribuna, General Camara 92; morning daily; established 1893; 8 to 12 pages, 17½ by 24 inches; 3½-inch rolls; circulation, 8,000. Equipment: Albert & Co. (German) perfecting press; four Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, 60 milreis (\$15) per annum; advertising rates, 875 reis to 8.75 milreis (\$0.21½ to \$2.18½) per inch.

A Tarde, Praça Maua 42; afternoon daily; established 1914; 4 pages, 19½ by 26 inches; 26-inch rolls; circulation, 3,500. Equipment: Marinoni (French) perfecting newspaper press. Foreign subscription price, 40 milreis (\$10) per annum; advertising rates, 250 reis to 7 milreis (\$0.06½ to \$1.75) per inch.

Diario de Santos, Praça Maua 47; afternoon daily; established 1872; 4 pages, 18 by 26 inches; 26-inch rolls; circulation, 2,500. Equipment: Marinoni (French) perfecting press; two Typographs (German). Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 250 reis to 2 milreis (\$0.06½ to \$0.50) per inch.

A Noite (on enemy trading list of United States), 24 de Maio 85; afternoon daily; established 1913; 4 pages, 19 by 26 inches; circulation, 1,500. Foreign subscription price, 35 milreis (\$8.75) per annum; advertising rates, 250 reis to 1 milreis (\$0.06½ to \$0.25) per inch.

PORTO ALEGRE

Correio do Povo; morning daily; established 1894; 6 to 12 pages, 17½ by 25½ inches, printed on pink news; circulation, 10,000 to 12,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) perfecting newspaper press; four model 5 and two model 8 Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 1 milreis to 1.5 milreis (\$0.25 to \$0.37½) per inch.

A Federação; morning daily; established 1880; 6 to 8 pages, 17½ by 24½ inches; circulation, 5,000. Equipment: Rotary perfecting press, two model 8 Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum; advertising rates, 500 reis to 1.5 milreis (\$0.12½ to \$0.37½) per inch.

O Independente; triweekly; established 1900; 4 pages, 17½ by 26½ inches; circulation, 3,000. Equipment: Cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, 30 milreis (\$6.25) per annum; advertising rates, \$0.10 per inch.

Ultima Hora; afternoon daily; established 1914; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches; circulation, 2,000. Equipment: Small printing plant. Foreign subscription price, 50 milreis (\$12.50) per annum.

O Diario (on enemy trading list of United States); temporarily discontinued. Equipment: Albert & Co. (German); perfecting press; two model 8 Mergenthalers.

Other newspapers: *A Noite*, *La Patria* (Italian), *Stella d'Italia* (Italian); *Deutsche Zeitung* (German); and *Deutsche Volksblatt* (German).

RIO GRANDE DO SUL

Echo do Sul; morning daily; established 1854; 4 pages, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 26 inches; circulation, 5,200. Equipment: One Marinoni (French) and one Alauzet (French) semiduplex press; two Mäilander (German) and one Alauzet (French) cylinder press; two German platen presses; Krause (German) cutting machine. Foreign subscription price, 40 milreis (\$10) per annum; advertising rates \$0.20 to \$0.30 per inch.

Rio Grande; afternoon daily; established 1913; 4 pages, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circulation, 2,000. Equipment: Alauzet (French) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, 40 milreis (\$10) per annum; advertising rates, \$0.10 to \$0.25 per inch.

O Tempo; afternoon daily; established 1908; 4 pages, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 26 inches; circulation, 1,500. Equipment: Alauzet (French) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, 40 milreis (\$10) per annum; advertising rates, \$0.10 to \$0.25 per inch.

MANAOS

Jornal do Commercio; daily newspaper; established 1904. Equipment: Perfecting newspaper press; three Mergenthals.

O Tempo; daily newspaper. Equipment: Cylinder press; two Mergenthals.

A Noticia; daily newspaper.

O Liberal; daily newspaper.

Diario Oficial; official daily of State government. Equipment: Four Mergenthals.

MACEIO

Diario de Alagoas; daily newspaper.

Jornal de Alagoas; daily newspaper.

MARANHÃO

O Jornal; daily newspaper and commercial printers.

Imprensa Oficial; daily newspaper of the State government.

CEARA

Diario de Estado; daily. Equipment includes a Mergenthaler.

Correio do Ceara; daily, representing the Catholic party; also printers.

O Dia; daily.

OTHER NEWSPAPERS IN BRAZIL

Tribuna do Povo, Araras; weekly; established 1891; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

O Popular, Ararquara; daily; established 1897; 4 pages, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

O Atibaense, Atibia; weekly; established 1900; 4 pages, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Correio do Sol, Bage; triweekly; established 1913; 4 pages, 18 by 26 inches.

O Dever, Bage; daily; established 1899; 5 pages, 19 by 26 inches.

Cidade de Bragança, Bragança; daily; established 1895; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

Commercio de Campinas, Campinas; daily; established 1899; 4 pages, 19 by 25 inches.

Diario do Povo, Campinas; daily; established 1911; 4 pages, 18 by 26 inches.

Correio de Campinas, Campinas; daily; established 1884; 4 pages, 19 by 25 inches.

O Casa Blanca, Casa Blanca; weekly; established 1902; 4 pages, 10½ by 15½ inches.

Commercio do Parana, Curityba; daily; established 1912; 4 pages, 19 by 26 inches.

A Tribuna, Curityba; daily; plant equipped with two Mergenthalers.

Diario da Tarde, Curityba; daily; plant equipped with two Mergenthalers.

A Republica, Curityba; daily; plant equipped with two Mergenthalers.

Cidade de Dourado, Dourado; weekly; established 1914; 4 pages, 13 by 15½ inches.

Tribuna da Franca, Franca; daily; established 1899; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

O Commercio da Franca, Franca; weekly; established 1914; 4 pages, 13 by 19 inches.

O Dia, Florianopolis; daily; established 1900; 8 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

O Estado, Florianopolis; daily; established 1914; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

A Opinião, Florianopolis; daily; established 1914; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

Cidade de Itapira, Itapira; weekly; established 1906; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

Commercio do Jahu, Jahu; daily; established 1907; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

A Noticia, Orlandia; triweekly; established 1900; 4 pages, 11 by 15 inches.

Diario Mercantil, Minas Geraes; daily; established 1913; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

A Opinião Publica, Pelotas; daily; established 1895; 4 pages, 20 by 28 inches.

Jornal de Piracicaba, Piracicaba; daily; established 1899; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

Diario da Manhã, Ribeirão Preto; daily; established 1899; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

A Cidade, Ribeirão Preto; daily; established 1904; 4 pages, 17½ by 24 inches.

O Alpha, Rio Claro; daily; established 1900; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

Diario de Rio Claro, Rio Claro; daily; established 1886; 4 pages, 13 by 19½ inches.

Correio de S. Carlos, São Carlos; daily; established 1899; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

A Tarde, São Carlos; daily; established 1913; 8 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

Diario do Interior, Santa Maria; daily; established 1910; 4 pages, 19½ by 27 inches.

Livro do Povo, Santa Rita do Passa; weekly; established 1912; 4 pages, 12½ by 19½ inches.

O Municipio de S. Bernardo, São Bernardo; weekly; established 1915; 4 pages, 11 by 15 inches.

O Serrano, Serra Negra; biweekly; established 1900; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

Cruzeiro do Sul, Sorocaba; daily; established 1902; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

Norte de São Paulo, Taubate; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 10½ by 15 inches.

O Tiete, Tiete; weekly; established 1896; 4 pages, 13 by 19 inches.

Professor Alexandro E. Bunge, delegate from Argentina to the recent Pan American Financial Conference in Washington, made a short tour of American universities before returning to his country. On Saturday, January 24, just after the close of the Conference, Professor Bunge entertained at luncheon a number of guests composed of men from government, public, and educational circles in Washington, men from various university faculties, and business men. This gentleman is among the foremost constructive economists of the entire American continent, and as well as being in charge of the Statistical Department of Argentina, is a member of the economic faculty of the University of Buenos Aires. He is the author of the following books:

Anuario Estadístico del Trabajo (informes). 2 vols. Buenos Aires, 1915 and 1916. (These are for the years 1913 and 1914.)

La Desocupación en la Argentina. 2d ed. [No. 47 of the publications of the "Asociación Internacional para la Protección Legal de los Trabajadores."] Madrid, 1917.

Ferrocarriles Argentinos. Contribución al Estudio del Patrimonio Nacional. Buenos Aires, 1918.

El Intercambio Económico en la República Argentina en 1916 (informe). Buenos Aires, 1917. Pp. 96.

Intercambio Económico de la República en los Años 1910 a 1917. Contribución a una Política Económico-Internacional Argentina. Dirección General de Estadística de la Nación. Buenos Aires, 1918. Pp. 342.

Población total de la Argentina. Razón de su Crecimiento. Buenos Aires, 1917.

Riqueza y Renta de la Argentina, su Distribución y su Capacidad contributiva. Buenos Aires, 1917. Pp. xxii, 304.

Varios Problemas de la Economía Nacional. Conferencias en la Universidad de Tucumán. Buenos Aires, 1919. Pp. 47.

Problemas Económicos del Presente. In press. Pp. 400.

At the abovementioned conference, he presented a pamphlet in English under the title "The Coefficient of Money Correction", in which he explains "the use of index numbers in the determination of fluctuations in the purchasing power of money". The "article is a summary of a series of lectures which" Professor Bunge "gave in a course on International Economic Policies at the University of Buenos Aires, and was published in the form of an English translation in the *Review of the River Plate*, July, 1919, under the title 'Increase in Values and the Purchasing Power of Money'". This article which was published in

Spanish in the *Revista de Economía Argentina*, of Buenos Aires, is "written from the viewpoint of conditions in Argentina". It was presented at the conference in answer to a request that Professor Bunge present his views on the subject on which Professor Irving Fisher has written so ably, as time did not permit him to present an entirely new contribution at this time. Professor Bunge is the President of the Social Economic League of Argentina, and owner and director of the *Revista de Economía Argentina*.

If plans as announced in his *History of Spain* are carried out, the historical world may look for a History of Hispanic America at some time in the future by Dr. Charles E. Chapman. A book of this kind is sadly needed, but the writing of it will probably present more problems than a history on almost any other region that might be chosen. This is a task that will require an immense amount of preparation, in which actual acquaintance with the countries should be included. During his year in Chile, Dr. Chapman has an enviable opportunity to lay some of the foundation of his history.

Miss Eleanor Buckley, the author of "The Aguayo Expedition", which appeared recently in the *Texas Quarterly* has been working on a doctorate thesis in the material of the University of Texas for presentation in the University of Pennsylvania. Miss Buckley is interested especially in the trade relations of the United States and Spain during the period 1783-1800.

At the 1919 meeting of the American Historical Association, a group of men was asked to take part in the work of revising C. K. Adams's *Manual of Historical Literature*. This will be reissued under the auspices of the Association. Dr. Isaac J. Cox has been asked to take charge of the revision of the titles on Hispanic America. Each book, whether in English or in a foreign language, will be described briefly, and other bibliographic aids will be added.

Among the Corbacho documents exhibited in New York in September, 1919, under the auspices of Mr. Archer M. Huntington, were some dating from the days of the Spanish Conquistadors. The collection has autographs of Pizarro, founder of Lima, Pedro Valdivia, founder of Santiago de Chile, Sebastian de Benalcazar, founder of Quito, and Bruno Zavala, founder of Montevideo. Of great historical value are such

documents as the message of the magistrates of Buenos Aires to the municipalities of Peru asking armed assistance against the invasion of 1807, and the many written by the great Liberator, Simón Bolívar. The collection is throughout of great interest and value.

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1916* (Washington, 1919), contains various references to Hispanic America, as well as three appendices dealing wholly with Hispanic America. These are as follows: "South America as a field for historical survey", by Charles E. Chapman; "Minutes of a conference on the foundation of a Journal of Latin American History"; and "Adm. Charles Whiting Wooster in Chile", by Charles Lyon Chandler.

A folder issued by the Cleveland Public Library in December, 1919, contains information regarding "The John Griswold White Collection of Folklore and Orientalia", which was donated to the Library some years ago by Judge White. Among the archeological books are many that treat of the ancient civilizations of Mexico and Central America.

An *Official Railway and Commercial Guide to South America* is announced for the near future by W. F. Burnett, of Los Angeles, California. The railways of South America are coöperating in its publication.

Dr. Walter Flavius McCaleb, in *Present and Past Banking in Mexico*, a book just published by Harper and Brothers, treats his subject under seventeen chapters, namely: early stages of banking and finance; through the crisis of 1884; code of commerce of 1884; origin of the Banco Nacional; Dublán and the banks; high tide of bank concessions; preparations for a general banking act; general law for institutions of credit; the Banco Refaccionario Mexicano; the transition period; adoption of the gold standard; reform law of 1908; eve of the Madero revolution; first effects of the revolution; Huerta and the banks; regime of the constitucionalistas; and crash of the banks; A review of this volume will appear in a later issue of this periodical.

Charles M. Pepper, who has found time in a busy life to write a number of books, has published through the Century Company an interesting volume entitled *The Life and Times of Henry Gassaway Davis*. The life is called in a subtitle "The life story of a master

builder". The volume will be noticed more at length in a later issue of this REVIEW. A recent volume by Mr. Pepper, who is at present connected with the Chile American Association, is entitled *American Foreign Trade*, also published by the Century Company (1919).

Africa and the Discovery of America (vol. I.), by Dr. Leo Wiener, professor of Slavic Languages and Literature, Harvard University, which has just been published by Innis & Sons, of Philadelphia, deals with the discovery of America from a new angle. The book, which was inspired while its author was making studies for a *Comparative Grammar of American Languages*, attempts to show "that the Negroes have had a far greater influence upon American civilization than has hitherto been suspected." A second volume will be devoted chiefly to a study of African fetichism. In the first volume are discussed from a philological viewpoint the following matters: The journal of the first voyage and the first letter of Columbus; the second voyage; tobacco; and the bread roots. This volume will be reviewed in the near future.

In "Notes on the early history of the Pecan," Dr. Rodney H. True of the Department of Agriculture, in Washington, calls attention to what early Spanish writers have had to say of this strictly American product. This report comprises pages 435-448 of the *Smithsonian Report* for 1917, and was issued through the Government Printing Office in 1899.

Miscellaneous Series, no. 97, *Training for Foreign Trade* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919), by R. S. MacElwee, assistant director of the above named bureau, F. G. Nichols, assistant director for commercial education, Federal Board for Vocational Education, and Collaborators, contains, among other things, a Syllabus on "Latin American" Commerce, which was prepared by the Latin American Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Much of the work of this Syllabus was done by Dr. W. E. Dunn, who was for a short time assistant chief of the above division, but portions of the work were also done by Charles A. McQueen, chief of the division, Myra C. Hole, Ralph J. Warren, Ruth C. Butterworth, Beulah M. Frost, Abigail A. Starbird, and Madeleine Thompson. The Syllabus "consists of four distinct courses covering the various geographical groups into which the countries and colonies comprised in that field naturally fall", as follows:

Course I. Mexico, the West Indies, Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, the Guianas, and Panama.

Course II. The West-Coast Republics (Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile).

Course III. The River Plate countries (Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay).

Course IV. Brazil.

Valuable bibliographical lists are given. The book as a whole is designed to meet the needs of those interested vitally in foreign trade, and the courses are designed to be taught in public or private institutions.

The Report of the Librarian of Congress . . . for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918), notes (p. 162) the acquisition of documents relating to Hispanic America in addition to Transcripts made during the year in the archives of Mexico and Spain, as follows:

Guatemala

Letter book of Governor de Mayorga, 1773-75.

Vocabulary of a Central American Indian Language, 17th century.

Peru

Rafinesque C. S.: Letters to Myers and Cocke, 1826, October, with a chronology of the Peruvian Incas from the year 800 A. D. to 1780.

Salvador

Miscellaneous broadsides relating to T. M. Muñoz, 1871-75.

The *Report of the Librarian of Congress* for 1919, recently issued from the Government Printing Office, notes the following manuscripts relating to Hispanic America among accessions for the year:

Guatemala

Maldonado de Matos, Manuel: *Arte de la Lengua Szinca*. 2 vols.

Mexico

Miscellaneous Manuscripts relating to Legal Cases, 1590-1866. 27 vols.

Ydioma Zapoteca del Valle. 2 vols.

Alonzo Martinez: *Manual Lengua Zapoteca*. 1 vol.

Under the title *Books relating to South America*, The Arthur H. Clark Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, has issued a twenty-page list of Hispanic American titles "mostly scarce and out of print, offered at low prices". Here are listed such works as Anson, *Voyages* (in several editions); Jacaré Assu, *Brazilian Colonization, from European Point of View* (London, 1873); Bellin, *Description Geographique de la Guyane* (Paris, 1763); Louis de Boisgelin, *History of Revolutions of Portugal* (London, 1809); R. H. Bonnycastle, *Spanish America* (Lon-

don, 1818); De la Condamine, *Relation Abregee* (1778); Dampier, *Voyages*; Robert Dundas, *Sketches of Brazil* (London, 1852); Sieur T. Froger, *Relation of a Voyage made in 1695-1697* (London, 1698); and others. This catalogue is no. S1103. A new list is said to be in course of preparation.

The Methodist Book Concern, as a part of its "Centenary Celebration of Methodist Missions, Columbus, Ohio, June 20 to July 13, 1919" published a small pamphlet of twelve pages entitled *Mexico: an annotated list of the best available books*. Only 45 titles are cited, and bibliographical details are lacking. A short notice is appended to most of the titles.

The first number of the *Bulletin of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in the Argentine Republic* appeared in English in Buenos Aires on August 20, 1919. The chief item of this number was "United States Trade Development in the Argentine Republic".

The *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* for February, 1920 offers: "British and American Trade with Latin America"; "Legal Requirements for Corporations in Brazil"; and "Second Pan American Financial Congress".

La Cronica, a newspaper published in Lima, Peru, in its issue for February 3, 1920, reproduces much of Sr. Juan C. Cebrián's letter in regard to the name "Latin America" which first appeared in the paper *Novidades* and was reprinted by Aurelio Espinoza in the body of an article on this same subject in *Hispania*. The article by Sr. Espinoza has been reprinted in pamphlet form under the title "America Latina". It sets forth, as will be remembered, the cogent reasons for preferring the correct term "Hispanic America" to the erroneous term "Latin America."

Cuba Contemporánea for January, 1920, presents the following: "La Actuación de Cuba en las Conferencias de la Paz", by Antonio S. de Bustamante; "La Carestia de la Vida y el Aumento de la Producción" (Discurso pronunciado el 9 de Noviembre en la Asociación de Hacendados y Colonos de Cuba), by José A. Martínez; "El Padre Coloma", by Fernando de la Vega; and "Peru y Chile" (Justificación moral del tratado de alianza defensiva entre el Perú y Bolivia), by Emilio del Solar.

The Economist (London) in its issue for January 24, 1920, contains notes on the "Financial conditions", "European credits", and "Crop prospects", of Argentina; and notes on Mexico, Chile, Venezuela, and Bolivia. The issue for February 7, contains: "The development of Sao Paulo"; "Ecuador and her creditors"; and "South American bank amalgamation". The issue for February 14 has an article on the "Oil-fields of West Indies"; and various items on Argentina—"A 'record' exportable surplus"; "The Budget and Income-Tax"; and "Credit Conditions". In that for February 21, items on Argentina are as follows: "Loan to Allies defeated"; and "League Covenant".

El Economista Paraguayo which is published weekly at Asunción, Paraguay, under the directorship of Dr. Rodolfo Ritter, in its issue for February 14, 1920, publishes a satirical article, on the Second Pan American Financial Congress that was held at Washington in January. The writer characterizes the conference as a gigantic failure and as being productive only of words, while the South American delegates to the Conference he states were stupid and ignorant. Under the title "Parientes pobres", an article is reprinted from *El Diario* of Buenos Aires, in which the various Hispanic American countries are likened to poor relatives. *El Economista Paraguayo* adds that Argentina was also among the "Beggars". He who reads Professor Martin's article on the Conference, published in this number of the REVIEW, will not agree with *El Economista Paraguayo*. Other articles in the paper are "Los origines del Comercio Británico en el Plata" and "Los Problemas obreros en Australia".

El Estudiante Latino Americano for January, 1920, presents articles as follows: "Bases para uma Federação de Estudantes Latino Americanos nos Estados Unidos"; by Archimedes Pereira Guimaraes; "Campanha Antoalcohólica en Chile", "El Comité de Co-operación en la América Latina", by Juan Ortiz González; "Congresso de Estudantes Brasileiros em Chicago"; "El Día de la Raza", by Jorge Manach; "Discurso de Honorable William Jennings Bryan en Baltimore"; "Estados Unidos"; "Información con referencia a las posibilidades de Estudio en los Estados Unidos"; "Inmigración a Sud-América" by J. M. Hernández; "A Liga das Nações", by Enrico A. Figuerido; "Noticias das Colonias"; "Rapprochement Inter-Americana", by C. S. da Nobrega; "Recem Diplomados"; "La Sección de Educación de la Unión Pan-americana"; and "'El South American' y 'El Norte Americano'".

The October–November number of *The Geographical Review* (New York) contained the first part of “The last Exploration of Lieutenant Marques de Souza: Diary of a Journey on the Ananáz River, Brazil”; and “South American Alliances: Some Political and Geographical Considerations”, by Osgood Hardy. The number for December contained “The Climate of São Paulo and Ceará, Brazil”; “Geography and the Colombian Coffee Market”; and part II. of “The last Exploration”, noted above.

Hispania for February, 1920, has a letter from Sr. Juan C. Cebrián “On Italian and Spanish in American Education” in which he takes issue with various assertions of Professor Ernest H. Wilkins in an article entitled “Italian and Spanish in American Education” published in “The Bulletin of the New England Modern Language Association” on the comparative value of Italian and Spanish; and “United States Exchange Professorships with Hispanic Countries”, a circular letter signed by Herbert I. Priestley and Charles E. Chapman. The greater part of the remainder of the number is taken up with a report of the annual meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish for 1919, and addresses made at that meeting. The issue for March, 1920, has an article by Alfred Coester entitled “Montevideo and ‘Pegaso’”.

Hispano-América, a paper published in Spanish in San Francisco, issued a special illustrated supplement on October 12, 1919, to celebrate the occasion of “La Fiesta de la Raza” (the Festival of the [Spanish] race). On the outside front cover is shown the “Bandera de la raza” (Flag of the race), which has been adopted officially in Spain, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama, San Salvador, Puerto Rico, Chile, Ecuador, and Cuba. Among the articles in the paper are the following: “Cristóbal Colón y la Fiesta de la Raza”, by Ricardo Beltrán y Rozpide; “Hombres de la Raza que valen: D. Juan C. Cebrián”, by Julio G. Arce; and “El Himno de la Raza”, by N. Bolet Perez. There is also a facsimile reproduction of “Primera carta de Cristóbal Colón relatando al descubrimiento de América, fecha 15 Febrero de 1493”, taken from a modern print in the style of the discovery which had been made for exhibition at the Graphic Arts Exhibition held in Leipzig in 1914.

In *Inter-America* for December, 1919, are published the following: “The City of Copper: Smelter Impressions of the Cerro de Pasco”,

by Juan Bautista de Lavalle (transl. from a chapter of *En la Paz del Hogar*, Lima, 1919); "Don Valentin Letelier and his Intellectual Work", by Alejandro Fuenzalida Grandón (transl. from *La Información*, Santiago de Chile, February, 1919); "Evolution of the Civil and Intellectual Life of Chile" by Octavio Méndez Pereira (transl. from *Cuasimodo*, Panamá, June, 1919); "Our Professors of Idealism in America", by Julio A. Barcos (transl. from *Cuasimodo*, June-July, 1919); "Outward Bound" by Eduardo Wilde (transl. from *Ediciones Mínimas*, no. 32, Buenos Aires, 1918); "Pan-Americanism in Brazil prior to the Statement of the Monroe Doctrine" by Heitor Lyra (transl. from *Revista Americana*, Rio de Janeiro, May, 1919; and "Reflections upon the Battle of Boyacá", by Antonio Gómez Restrepo (transl. from *Correo del Cauca*, Cali, Colombia). In February are the following: "An Appeal to Patriotism" (transl. from editorial in *Argentina Austral*, (Rio Gallegos, July, 1919); "The Decline of Literary Dogmatism", by Max Henríquez Ureña (transl. from *Revista de Instrucción Pública* Habana, September-October, 1918); "England and the Religion of To-Morrow", by Amado Nervo (transl. from *América Latina*, London, and reproduced in *Repertorio Americano*, San José, Costa Rica, October 15, 1919); "Intellectual Ecuador", by Alejandro Andrade Coello (transl. from *Nuestra América*, Buenos Aires, May, 1919); "The Knights of the Cloak: Chronicle of a Civil War" by Ricardo Palma (transl. from Palma's *Tradiciones Peruanas*, Barcelona, 1893, I. 122-136); "Manuel González Prado", by Alberto Hidalgo (transl. from *Caras y Caretas*, Buenos Aires, October 4, 1919); "Our Professors of Idealism in America" (continued), by Julio R. Barcos (transl. from *Cuasimodo*, Panamá, October, 1919); "The Religiousness of Bolívar", by Pedro María Revolo (transl. from *Revista Americana*, Rio de Janeiro, June, 1919); "Ricardo Palma. A Man of Marked Personality", by E. G. Hurtado y Arias (transl. from *Plus Ultra*, Buenos Aires, September, 1919); and "Ricardo Palma. A Vitalizer of the Past" (transl. from an editorial in *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, October 7, 1919). In the number for March is translated into Spanish Charles Bernard Nordhoff's "The Human Side of Mexico", under the Spanish title "El Lado Humano de Méjico". This is taken from *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1919.

Mercurio Peruano for October-November (issued as a single number) was devoted almost entirely to Ricardo Palma, the Peruvian litterateur. The December issue published the following articles: "Abraham Valdelomar" by Ricardo Vegas García; "La Adhesión de la República

Argentina al Tratado de Alianza Peru-Boliviano de 1873", by Pedro Yrigoyen; "Crónica de París. La 'Société des Prisons' y el Proyecto de Nuevo Código Penal del Perú", by César A. Ugarte; "La Gran Guerra y el Organismo Económico Nacional", by Carlos Ledgard; "Las Ideas de Orden y de Libertad en la Historia del Pensamiento Humano", by A. O. Deustua; "Lucano y la Forsalia", by Juan F. Elguera. The issue for January, 1920, contains the following: "El Carácter Pacificista de la Diplomacia Peruana" by Pedro Yrigoyen; "Don Benito Pérez Galdós", by Angélica Palma; "D. Ricardo Palma" by José de la Riva Agüera; "Don Ricardo Palma y Eugenio D'Ors", by José Galvez; and "La Escuela de Bellas Artes", by G. Salinas Cossio.

The Mexican Review or *La Revista Mexicana* (for it bears both names, all matter appearing both in English and Spanish), a paper published in Mexico City, publishes matter as follows in recent issues: October, 1919—"The acid test' on the border" ("La prueba del acido' en la frontera"); "Archaeological Gates" ("El 'Arqueólogo Gates'"); "Canned' editorial comment" ("Editoriales 'fraguados'"); "Drilling new wells not forbidden" ("La perforación de pozos petroleros"); "In the petroleum field" ("En el campo petrolero"); "Increasing prosperity of railroads" ("La prosperidad en los ferrocarriles"); "Mexican highways and byways" ("Por caminos y veredas de México"), continued by George F. Weeks; "The Monroe Doctrine" ("La doctrina Monroe"); "Some facts worth remembering" ("Algo que debe tenerse presente"); "Something about a certain map" ("Acerca de cierto mapa de México"); "Typical case of misrepresentation" ("Las informaciones falsas"); and "What Mexico is said to owe" ("Lo que se dice que debe México"). November—"Americans dread intervention" ("Los Americanos temen la intervención"); "Article twenty-seven" ("Artículo veintisiete"); "Both nations have their troubles" ("Las dos naciones sus dificultades"); "Commerce with the United States" ("El comercio con los Estados Unidos"); "Cheer up, Mexico!" ("¡Arriba, México!"), by L. J. De Bekker; "From brakeman to director" ("De garrotero a director general"); "Give Mexico a chance" ("Debe darse a México una oportunidad"); "Large increase in oil shipments" ("Grandes remesas de petróleo"); "Mexico and the United States" ("México y los Estados Unidos"); "Mexico in the English press" ("México y la prensa inglesa"); "Work of Petroleum Bureau" ("El Departamento de Petróleo"), by J. Schiaffino Vazquez; and the continuation of "Mexican byways and highways". December—"Amendments to Article 27"

("Reformas al Artículo 27"); "Damage claims arbitration" ("El arbitraje por perjuicios"); "Improving the railways" ("Mejorando los ferrocarriles"); "In the field of petroleum" ("En el campo petrolero"); "Interesting Mexican legends" ("Curiosas leyendas Mexicanas") by María de Puy de Gallana; "Light on Mexico's finances" ("Acláranse las finanzas mexicanas"); "Mr. Aguirre Berlanga's declarations regarding the next presidential elections. Why he refuses to be a candidate." (El Licenciado Aguirre Berlanga declara acerca de las próximas elecciones presidenciales. Por que rehusa su candidatura.); "Silver coins disappearing from circulation" ("La moneda de plata desaparece de la circulación"); "Some Mexican Christmases" ("Navidades en México"); "They should be allies" ("Debieran ser aliados"); "Work of Petroleum Bureau" (El Departamento de Petróleo), by J. Schiaffino Vazquez; and the continuation of "Mexican byways and highways". January, 1920—"Call for a trade conference" ("Conferencia comercial convocado"); "The Carranza Doctrine" ("La doctrina Carranza"); "In the petroleum field" ("En el campo petrolero"); "Mexico's argicultural possibilities" (Posibilidad agrícola de México); and instalments of the two continued articles as above noted. February—"Aiding petroleum development" ("En pro de la industria petrolera"); "American oil capital predominates" (El capital norteamericano domina la industria pretolera); "'Being drastic with Mexico!'" ("Portándose drásticamente con México"); "Combination of oil interests" ("Fusión de intereses petroleros"); "Foreigners hold vast area" ("Los extranjeros poseen una vasta superficie de México"); "Intervention in Mexico opposed" ("Oposición contra la intervención en México"); "Mexican petroleum laws are fair" ("Se declararán justas las leyes petroleras de México"); "Mexico's most beloved poet" ("El poeta más amado de México"), by Alice Stone Blackwell; "Millions for the railways" (Millones para los ferrocarriles); "New oil tax decree" ("Nuevo decreto sobre el petróleo"); "Oil deposits of South America" ("El petróleo en Sud-América"); "Oil refineries wanted" ("Se necesitan más refinerías"); "Secretary Cabrera sends a message" ("Mensaje del Secretario Cabrera"); "Shall it be war with Mexico?" ("¿Habrá guerra con México?"); "Tax on exported copper" ("Contribución sobre la exportación de cobre"); "The truth about Mexico" ("La verdad sobre México"); and the continuation of the article by Weeks.

Pacific Ports, a monthly paper published in Seattle, offers the following in its January (1920) issue: "Latin America. Her trade problems

analyzed", by A. A. Preciado; "The Llama, little known to commerce, offers wonderful trade opportunities", by David R. McGinnis"; "Valparaiso—Chile's trading and residential city", by A. A. Preciado. In February and March, Nemesio Menecho, Jr., discusses "Great future in South American west coast trade."

The Pan-American Magazine for January, 1920, publishes the following: "The American Senate and the World Peace", by Nuno Pinheiro; "Chilean Ports"; "The Heart of South America", by W. W. Razor; "Monroeismo", by Manoel Oliveira Lima; "Pan-American Notes", by P. W. Wilson; "The Second Pan-American Financial Congress"; "Uruguay's Special Mission to England"; "The Value and Protection of Trade Marks", by L. A. Harvey; and "Venezuela and the Monroe Doctrine", by C. A. Kulp.

The Pan American Review for January and February (issued as a single number) published the following: "The Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce"; "Chile-American Association Mining Scholarship"; "Concerning Argentine Commerce", by Angél Bohigas; "Foreword", by John Bassett Moore; "The Growing Use of Spanish in the United States"; "New Press Ties link North and South America" (editorial); "Some Peculiarities of Latin American Trade", by W. N. Walmsly; "South America", by Walter Lichtenstein; "Telegraphic Briefs"; and "The Waldorf-Astoria Banquet".

In the February (1920) issue of *Pan Pacific* are the following articles: "Amazon Valley offers trade opportunities"; "American business asked to help Mexico help herself"; "Mexican orders furnish proof of returning prosperity"; "Mexico needs rail supplies"; and "New Germany in the world's markets will bear watching", by Charles Lyon Chandler.

The Pictorial Review, which is published in New York, and of which a Spanish edition is issued, publishes a commercial supplement from time to time.

Repertorio Americano published "Decenalmente" at San José de Costa Rica, in its second number, issued September 11, 1919, has an interesting article entitled "Reminiscencias sobre José Asunción Silva", the Colombian poet. Another item is entitled "'Xenius' y la Independencia de América".

In recent issues, *The Review of the River Plate* (Buenos Aires), publishes items as follows: "Argentine foreign trade in the first six months of 1919" (January 16, 1920); "Argentine Navigation Company" (December 5, 1919); "The Buenos Aires Great Southern Railway Company, Limited" (December 26); "The Buenos Aires Western Railway, Limited" (February 2); "Central Uruguay Railway" (December 5); "Cordoba Central Railway Company, Limited" (January 9); and "Rosario Drainage Company" (December 12). This review publishes weekly items on the Argentine Meteorological Office, and has a section devoted to "Railways, Public Works, etc."

The South American for January, 1920, contains the following articles and items of interest: "The American business woman in Chile", by Lillian Barker Beede; "Argentina plans railroad over Andes"; "Argentine exposition of American manufacturers"; "The Argentine way with a horse"; "Brazil-Argentine trade"; "The charm of Mexico", by James Carson; "The importance of learning Spanish", by J. Warshaw; "Inaugural address at Pan American Financial Conference", by Robert Lansing; "The old fortifications of Cartagena"; "Pan American Financial Conference"; "Future policy of the United States Shipping Board", by John Barton Payne; "Peru busy with public works"; "The port of Callao"; "The Rousseau of South America" (Professor Franz Tamayo); "The southern extremity of the American continent"; "Two marvels of Peru".

Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras for January, 1920, contains the following: "Amado Nervo" by V. A. Belaúnde: "Atavismo Argentino", by W. Tello; "Precursores de la Diplomacia Argentina: Diputaciones a Chile de Álvarez Jonte Vera y Pintado y Paso, 1810-1814", by Francisco Centeno; and "Proyecto de Reforma de la Constitución del Perú".

The first three numbers of *The South American Journal* (London) for January, 1920, contain the following: January 3—"Argentine railways and the Mitre law"; "Goods in demand in Manizales, Colombia"; "Nitrate prospects"; "Rio de Janeiro Land, Mortgage, and Investment Agency Company"; and "What of South America?". January 10—"Argentina's trade"; "Argentine land companies. VII. The Port Madryn"; "Argentine Railways"; "Bolivian trade in 1918"; "Fuel oil on west coast"; "Mexican Central Railways Securities"; "Mexican Electric Light gold bonds"; "The Mexican position"; "Mexico's foreign

debt"; "New Mexican coinage"; "New transporation company on Paraguay River"; "The rise in nitrates"; "South American stores"; and "United States-Colombian treaty". January 17—"Anglo-Argentine trams"; "Argentine land companies. VIII. Tecka (Argentina) land"; "Argentine Transandine Railway"; "Brazil Traction Light and Power Co."; "British trade with Brazil"; "The Honesty of Mexico"; "The La Guaira and Caracas Railway"; "Peru and Petroleum"; "Primitiva Gas Company"; "South American stores"; "The Taltal Railway"; and "Venezuela Central Railway". This paper apparently makes considerable use of *Commerce Reports*.

The Southwestern Historical Quarterly for January, 1920, has papers as follows: "Gali and Rodriquez Cermenho: Exploration of California", by Charles E. Chapman; "Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832", Part IX., by Eugene C. Barker (ed.); "Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar", by A. K. Christian; and "James A. Fannin, Jr., in the Texas Revolution", part II., by Ruby Cumby Smith.

Among items in *The Statist* (London) for January 24, 1920, appear the following: "Brazil trade conditions"; "Chile—Some progress"; "South and Central America.—The nitrate industry". In the issue for February 7 are found: "Argentina settling down"; "The Colombian Corporation, Limited"; "Pan de Azucar Nitrate Company, Limited"; "South and Central America.—A threat of locusts". That for February 14, has an article on "Prospective Development of Brazil"; and one on "Tropical Agriculture in South and Central America". In the issue for February 21, appear "Horses and Livestock of Brazil"; and "Tropical Agriculture in the West Indies".

In November, 1919, was issued from the press of Sanmarti y Cia. the first number of *Studium*, the organ of the Federation of Students of the University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru. The new paper is directed by Daniel Ruza and Alfredo Herrera.

The New York *Sun* published on February 9 of this year its first Hispanic American section since Dr. W. E. Dunn took charge of the editing of that part of the paper. The greater part of a page was given up to this section. The importance of the field covered merits considerably more space. The part devoted to "Latin American colony notes" is of interest.

The *Times* (London) *Trade Supplement* for January 24, 1920, contains items dealing with Hispanic America as follows: "Argentine industries.—Activities of local German firms"; "Cuban development.—Construction material needed"; "Cuba's trade with the United States.—American exporters losing ground"; "Development of Colombia.—Future for British goods"; and "Floor tiles for Cuba".

La Tribuna is the name of a weekly paper printed in Spanish in New York City, which is now in its second year. It describes itself as a "Defensora de los intereses de la raza hispana". The paper is well printed and well illustrated, and contains abundant of Hispanic American material. The number for October 25, 1919, contains an article by the Spanish savant, Professor Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín of the University of Madrid, entitled "Don Juan Cebrián en Nueva York; lo que es y lo que significa", in which he mentions something of the influence that has been exerted by Mr. Cebrián on the western continent. Professor Bonilla y San Martín, it will be remembered, gave a course at summer school in the University of California in 1915.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF
AUGUST 24, 1912

Of The Hispanic American Historical Review, published Quarterly at Baltimore, Maryland, for April 1, 1920.
Washington, D. C.: ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James A. Robertson, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of the Hispanic American Historical Review and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Board of Editors of The Hispanic American Historical Review, care Williams & Wilkins Company, Mount Royal and Guilford Avenues, Baltimore, Maryland.

Names of Editors:

Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

William R. Manning, 4701 Fessenden Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Percy Alvin Martin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Leland Stanford, California.

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William Spence Robertson, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

Advisory Editors:

Herbert E. Bolton, University of California, Berkeley, California.

William R. Shepherd, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor: James A. Robertson, 1422 Irving Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

Business Managers: None.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

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Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (None).

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JAMES A. ROBERTSON,
Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of March, 1920.

WILLIAM R. NAGEL,
Notary Public, D. C.

[SEAL.]

(My commission expires Nov. 11, 1920.)

ERRATA

Through no fault of the author of the first article of the issue of this REVIEW for August, 1920, namely, "D. Manuel Josef de Ayala y la historia de nuestra legislación de Indias", but rather because of the slowness and uncertainty of mails between the United States and Europe, it was necessary to go to press with that article before the proof sent to Spain was returned. Corrections that should have been embodied in the article are as follows: P. 282, fourth line of section II., for "hubo" read "hubieron". P. 285, line 14 from top, for "Económico", read "Económica". P. 285, line 6 from bottom, for "José Manuel", read "Manuel Josef". P. 286, line 15 from top, for "José", read "Josef". P. 286 and p. 292, in signature, for "Capsegui", read "Capdequi". P. 290, first line, for "*Política*" read "*Histórico*". P. 292, in heading to "Apéndice I.", for "Acertamiento", read "Acertamientos". P. 302, insert note 3a as follows: "Desde la palabra '*Maderas*' hasta '*Mestizas*' es el Tomo XIV 739 b. Sigue luego la Letra 'L', Tomo XV 740 b; y despues otra vez es 'M', desde '*Milicianos*' hasta '*Muralla*', Tomo XVI." (Translation: "From the word '*Maderas*' to '*Mestizas*', is volume XIV 739 b. Then follows letter 'L', Volume XV 740 b; and then 'M' appears again from '*Milicianos*' to '*Muralla*', Volume XVI."). P. 303, in first heading, for "xv", read "xvi". P. 312, perhaps the word "Anacona" is for "Yanacona", a name used in Peru to denote a serving man or a mercenary. P. 318, "Diario" means here rather something that is daily, as for instance, the daily wage of workmen. P. 324, by "Moderacion de Mercedes" is meant rather "Moderation of grants of the crown to private individuals".

